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Rev. Joseph Cook's  
Monday  
Lectures. *FIFTH SERIES*



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*BOSTON MONDAY LECTURES, U.S.*

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# MONDAY LECTURES

By REV. JOSEPH COOK.

*FIFTH SERIES.*



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## CONTENTS.

	PAGE
AFTER EMERSON, WHAT? OR, THE CONSEQUENCES OF CON- CORD THEISM . . . . .	1
Prelude.—The Indian Question.	
OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS; OR, RECENT TRIUMPHS OF THEISM . . . . .	14
Prelude.—Hopes and Fears in American Politics.	
FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE . . . . .	29
Prelude.—Romanists and the Common Schools.	
THE ASCENT OF LIFE; OR, THE INCARNATION THE CULMINA- TION OF THE CREATION—MAN AT HIS CLIMAX . . . . .	42
Prelude.—A Discussion on the Negro Exodus.	
THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY . . . . .	54
Prelude.—Mormonism and State Rights.	
THE CATHOLIC QUESTION — “CONCEALED PURPOSES OF ROMANISM AS TO EDUCATION” . . . . .	69
DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON’S AND CHANNING’S SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT . . . . .	81
THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM; OR, THE MISCHIEFS OF A FRAG- MENTARY CULTURE . . . . .	94
Prelude.—Is American Infidelity Liberalism or Libertinism?	
CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY . . . . .	107
Prelude.—Spoils and Frauds as Cause and Effect in Politics.	
CARLYLE’S “EVERLASTING YEA;” OR, THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER . . . . .	121
Prelude.—Disloyal Mormonism.	

	PAGE
CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE . . . . .	137
Prelude.—The Weak Spot in the National Constitution.	
MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR, SPIRITUAL- ISM AS AN "IF" . . . . .	151
Prelude.—"Why is Ireland Starving?" The Causes of her Dis- tress, and the Remedies to be applied.	
EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND LEIPSIK PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM . . . . .	167
Prelude.—"Chinese Students in American Schools."	
AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM . . . . .	184
Prelude.—Shall the Civil Damage Law be Repealed?	
AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM . . . . .	201
Prelude.—"The Political Power of Romanism in American Cities."	
BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR, THE SUPER- HUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL . . . . .	217
Prelude.—"Methods of Preventing Election Frauds."	
TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR, A NEW WORLD IN PHILO- SOPHY . . . . .	230
Prelude.—Recent Desertions from Darwinism.	
MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR, OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS . . . . .	246
Prelude.—The Diminishing Influence of Channing's Negations.	
PROFESSOR CROOKES AND DR. CARPENTER ON PSYCHIC FORCE . . . . .	264
Prelude.—General Grant and a Third Term.	
THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD . . . . .	277
Prelude.—Secretary Schurz and the Indian Question.	

*AFTER EMERSON, WHAT? OR, THE CONSEQUENCES  
OF CONCORD THEISM.*

PRELUDE.—THE INDIAN QUESTION.

CALL the roll of the names associated with this building—John Adams, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, James Otis, George Whitefield, George Washington. I venture to say that there is not one of these historic souls that does not sympathize with this Indian chieftain; for his demand is precisely what theirs was, that a labourer should be allowed to dispose of the results of his own work. One hundred and four years ago this house was packed to suffocation, and the steps of this platform were covered by British military officers, who threatened death to any speaker who should celebrate the patriotism of those who did not like the Boston massacre. An orator named Joseph Warren entered by the window behind me. During his address at this spot a British officer, seated on the steps at the side of the pulpit, held up some pistol-bullets in his open palm, to intimidate the young man; but Warren dropped upon them a white handkerchief, and the occasion passed without his assassination, and, indeed, by the breadth of a hair, without tumult. The bullet that killed Warren lies in yonder case. I beg leave to set in contrast two sentences, one from Warren's oration on that occasion, and another from the speech of an Indian maiden, who is on my left—an educated representative of her people. "Every man," said Warren before that hushed house, "has a right to enjoy what is acquired by his own labour. It is evident that the property in this country has been acquired by our own labour. It is, therefore, the duty of the people of Great Britain to produce some compact in which we have explicitly given up to them a right to dispose of our persons and property. Until this is done, every attempt of theirs, or of those whom they have deputed to act for them, to give or grant any part of our property, is directly repugnant to every principle of reason and natural justice."\* You know that these are the principles on which our fathers fought the Revolution. This is an excellent statement of the great doctrine that there should be no taxation without representation. The basis of the philosophy of our fathers in the Revolution was simply the proposition that every man has a right to enjoy what is acquired by his own labour. Value had been added to the lands of Massachusetts by the toil of the colonists. King George undertook to tax Massachusetts, and our fathers stood upon this basis of natural right, and refused to pay a penny, because they had not been consulted as to the tax. I wish to begin my defence of the plundered Indians by some incontrovertible proposition, and I commence exactly where Joseph Warren did, by the assertion of the natural right of every man to dispose of the fruits of his own labour. I open a recent newspaper of this city, and turn to a report of a speech

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\* Warren's Oration in the Old South Church, Boston, March 5th, 1775.

## AFTER EMERSON, WHAT?

by the lady on my left, and she says: "An Indian does not want to cultivate a piece of land, fence it in, build him a house, furnish and stock his farm, and, just as he is ready to enjoy the fruits of it, to have it taken from him, and he and his family sent to a southern clime to die. Do you wonder that the Indian feels outraged by such treatment and revolts, although the act end in death to himself?" \* I affirm that Joseph Warren and that Indian maiden and this Indian chieftain lock hands in their fundamental principles. In the name of all the revolutionary fathers whose voices have been heard on this spot, I justify the Ponca Indians in their complaint against the robberies effected by a viperous Indian ring, which whispers more lies into the public press to-day than the voice of appeal can whisper truths into the same channel.

On the banks of the Missouri, June 26th, as I lately crossed the continent, it was my fortune to meet this lady, and hear from her a full statement of the wrongs of the Ponca Indians. You have all heard that pitiful story; but, in view of some to whom printed words may go, pardon me if I say that the account she read to me, dictated by White Eagle, of the Ponca tribe of Indians, was in many passages as touching as the historic speech of Logan. It contained the history of the treaties by which the United States guaranteed to the Ponca Indians a reservation of land in Southern Dakota; of the faithfulness with which these treaties have been observed by the peaceful Ponca tribe; of the gradual accumulation of property in horses and cattle, and buildings, and farming utensils; of the cupidity and unscrupulousness of the white men in the Indian ring, who desired to dispossess the Poncas of their property; of the intrigues of these plunderers, and of their success in obtaining an order from Washington for the removal of the Poncas to the Indian Territory; of the death there of some two hundred of the tribe from malarial fever; and of the theft by the Indian ring of the personal property of the tribe to the amount of 200,000 dollars.

Our soldiers blush to execute the commands they receive from the Indian Commissioner at Washington. General Crook † says that, as the law is now interpreted, the army cannot seize and recover Indian property even when found in the hands of well known thieves.

You have been told from Washington that the land given to the Poncas in the Indian Territory is a desirable habitation. Remember that the Poncas are a northern tribe. I lift up before you the map of the Indian reservations in this country, and some of you can see that the tribes are scattered all the way from the latitude of Northern Montana to that of Mexico. The Poncas belong on the isotherm of cool Milwaukee; they have been forced down to the isotherm of broiling Santa Fé. Even Carl Schurz himself, whom I revere in general, but whom I think wrong on this Indian question, admits that the plan of the last administration of the United States to gather all the Indians into this Indian Territory was undoubtedly a good one so far as the southern Indians were concerned, but undoubtedly a very poorly judged one as to the Northern Indians. Whoever looks on the map will see that tribes accustomed to these mountainous regions cannot be forced down to the line of Arkansas and Northern Mississippi and New Mexico without terrible trials, in undergoing the process of acclimatization.

You ought, I must say, to listen to the rifle, the sound of which has reached Boston this morning, for it speaks the abhorrence of the Poncas of their present

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\* Speech of Miss Bright Eyes, at a reception in Horticultural Hall, Boston.

† See his remarkable letter in the *New York Tribune*, Oct 14th.

*OR, THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONCORD THEISM.*

position in the Indian Territory. I cannot force myself at once to tell you what the news is to-day; but this chieftain on my right—a man of great strength of character—started on foot from the Indian Territory after he had seen the land. He took a portion of his band with him, preferring to die on the graves of his kindred to dying far off in the land of the stranger. A son of this chieftain had implored his father with his dying breath to take him back and bury him among his fathers. And the strong man marched, bearing the corpse through the mornings and the noons, the twilights and midnights, till he reached the vicinity of the agency where the child was to be buried. There, in our land, there under the direction of your officers, some of them performing their duties with the supervision of Christian overseers, chosen largely through the instrumentality of the Church—there this man, under such auspices and in such a place, was arrested, and the Indian ring secured an order that he should be sent back.

The Christian sentiment of Omaha was aroused. It is my fortune to have in Omaha a friend, of whom I speak with frankness, because I know that he will pardon me for doing so, modest man as he is, and will be glad, on the whole, that I, from a ten years' acquaintance, authorize you to trust him as the treasurer of the funds for the support of the appeal now making on behalf of the Indian tribes. The Rev. A. F. Sherrill, of Omaha, was a room-mate of mine at Andover Theological Seminary. He is an Englishman by birth, one of God's noblemen, and is deeply in sympathy with this Indian cause. I have known him ten years, and he has been ten years at the front, in Omaha. He introduced me to that noble philanthropist on my left here, Mr. Tibbles, an editor of the Omaha *Herald*, and one of the coadjutors of John Brown, who lies buried among the Adirondacks in my native county. It was this philanthropist who went to the lawyers of Omaha, and among them found two men noble enough to undertake the defence of this chieftain without pay. They were Messrs. Poppleton and Webster, leading lawyers of the State, and the case was brought before Judge Dundy, who decided that, under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, the Indian is a person entitled to the protection which the courts give to any other person not a citizen. He set this chieftain at liberty. When Judge Dundy's court was told that the Indian is not a person, and cannot come into court, the reply was: "A Mongolian can come into my court. Any one who is a responsible human being can come into my court. God never made a man so humble that he cannot come into my court." And Judge Dundy received this chieftain as a human being, who, although not a citizen, is covered by the great shield of American law from his plunderers.

Of course, this decision, if supported by the Supreme Court of the United States, is likely to be of great importance in delivering the Indians from their plunderers and in putting a stop to Indian wars. Here you have, at last, in your projects of reform, got hold of the central vine. You have been attending to the tendrils here and there; but you have not shaken the whole growth of this Indian poisonous ivy, because you have not seized it by the roots. We are indebted to the sagacity of this soldier of John Brown here; we are indebted to the practical head of this editor, and I may almost call him a lawyer. He is a philanthropist. We are indebted to him for pointing out this centre spot of poison. He took the vine by the trunk and has shaken it to the last tendril, by insisting on this distinction between person and citizen. Pardon me, my friends, if I trouble you with the language of the first clause of the famous Fourteenth Amendment:—

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state wherein they



### AFTER EMERSON, WHAT?

reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of any citizen of the United States. Nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law ; nor deny any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

I beg you to notice that there is here made, by the language of the Constitution itself—the supreme law of the land—a most emphatic distinction between *citizen* and *person*. The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution has just been interpreted by Judges Field and Sawyer, in California, as invalidating the "cue-cutting act," which the anti-Chinese party had levied against the Chinese. This amendment declares who are citizens of the United States, and it says that no state shall make a law to abridge their privileges or immunities. It, then, as Judge Field has said, drops the distinctive term "*citizen*," and declares that "no state shall deprive any *person* of life, liberty, or property without the due process of law, nor deny to any person the equal protection of the laws." Since the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment Congress has legislated for the purpose of executing its provisions. Re-enacting laws passed in 1870, the Revised Statutes of the United States now declare—and I wish to call exact attention to this language—"that all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall have the same right in every state and territory to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all the laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property as enjoyed by white citizens, and shall be subject to like punishments, pains, penalties, taxes, licences, and exactions of every kind, and to no other." That is section 1977 of the Revised Statutes, passed since the Fourteenth Amendment was adopted.

My friends, this is a legal point of great importance ; and, although the matter is a little dry, although it is hard to secure popular attention to this distinction between citizen and person, I think I do not venture too much by bringing before this audience, and through you before any who may read what is said here, the decision of these three judges, by whom the distinction is pushed to the front as one of the most important inculcations of the Constitution itself. Charles Sumner held that the Fourteenth Amendment secures to Indians the protection of the Federal courts.

Everybody knows or ought to know that the lands of the Poncas were granted to them in Southern Dakota, in exactly the same form of words by which the lands of the Union Pacific Railway, running from Omaha to Ogden, have been granted to the corporation owning that iron construction. And it has been very pertinently asked whether, if a part of this land granted to the Union Pacific Railway had been by some mistake of haste at Washington ceded afterwards to an Indian tribe, say to the Sioux, there would not have been a very swift rectification of the mistake by the courts. But here is the evidence. I find that Carl Schurz, honourable man that he is, publishes a long dispatch—he has done this within three months—in which he says the lands of the Poncas were granted, by mistake, to the Sioux, and that in the treaty with the Sioux the land was recognized as belonging to the latter tribe, and that this treaty is the supreme law of the land. The question is whether the courts would decide in that way. The question is whether the President and Senate, taken alone, can make a treaty that is binding where there is plain constitutional authority against the treaty. If the Union Pacific Railway were in court, and a treaty should be brought forward of which it could only be said that there was a mistake made concerning it, how soon the matter would be rectified ! But this is exactly the position of the Poncas. The Department at Washington, down even to Commissioner Hay,

OR, THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONCORD THEISM.

himself, who has no great fondness for the positions represented by my philanthropic friend on my left, has admitted that it was a mistake that the treaty with the Sioux included the lands solemnly guaranteed to the Poncas. What the Poncas ask is that they be allowed to go into the court and test this question by a writ of ejectment. That writ of ejectment is to be taken out, and will be brought before, probably Judge Dundy at first, and then, perhaps, before some of the United States justices above him in the Circuit Court, and so carried to the full bench at Washington.

Money for that purpose is needed, and I am glad to be public solicitor for a cause including the interests of 275,000 of the aborigines, whose numbers are far less likely to dwindle than to double within the next century. What is claimed is that we have made treaties with the Indians, and that to make a treaty a man must be a person. Indian chiefs have made treaties in the name of their tribes. What is a person? Any human being who can do a legal act is a person. To make a treaty is a legal act, and chiefs in the Indian tribes have made treaties which have already been so recognised by the Government that it is too late to say that these chiefs are not persons.

We wish to decide two questions: Is the chief who represents a tribe a person? I know that the chiefs represent their tribes, and that Indians in tribal relations do not own land in severalty. But again and again Indians have left their reservations and given up their tribal property, and gone out in rags and taken up land. The question is whether they, when they have no tribal relations, are persons in such a sense that in the Federal courts they can be sued and sue in the language of the Revised Statutes. Is the chief at the head of his tribe a person in the legal sense? And next, is a single Indian, without any tribal connection, a person in such a sense that under the United States law he can be held to his duty or obtain justice when he is wronged? These two inquiries, we think, will be answered affirmatively; and if they are, everybody sees what an immense advantage will be gained in the cause of the amelioration of the condition of the Indians. The American Constitutional distinction between person and citizen, under national law, and the rights which the Constitution guarantees to all persons, however humble, are the Ithuriel spear by which the Indian ring squatting like a toad at the ear of careless officials in Washington, as Satan squatted at the ear of Eve, must be pierced through all its hideous disguises, and made to appear what it is, a colossal conspirator and fiend. By this same distinction between *citizen* and *person*, the more difficult part of both the Indian and the Chinese questions may not improbably be carried far towards solution.

I look into the faces of this Indian maiden and of this chieftain, and I hardly dare to bring to them the pain of announcing that the brother of Standing Bear has been shot like a dog for asserting the rights Joseph Warren maintained on this platform. We are told the Poncas are satisfied in the Indian Territory. They are so satisfied that they die to leave it. This brother was an elected chief, a younger man than he who sits before you. But when the Cheyennes offered to give horses to the Poncas in place of those that had died, the Poncas were, of course, anxious to visit the Cheyennes. They could not obtain permission to do so. A few of them, led by the brother of this chieftain, went away without permission; and in course of the difficulty which followed he was shot.

I had hoped that Standing Bear would address you in this house. Whether he will consent to do so I cannot now tell; and we, perhaps, ought not to ask him to speak. If any of you remain to shake hands with him I am sure you will offer him sympathy in his bereavement. But he is here to-day, and will be elsewhere

## AFTER EMERSON, WHAT?

in the state and nation, to represent simply the proposition that a labourer has a right to the fruits of his own toil, and that a person, however humble, is protected by the laws of the United States.

It will be little creditable to the civilization of patriotism, to say nothing of the Christianity of our opulent cities, if the four or five thousand dollars needed for the purpose of testing the case of Standing Bear before the Supreme Court cannot be swiftly secured. It has been proved by actual trial that the young woman who read to me White Eagle's letter needs only to look upon a Boston or a Chicago assembly, or upon a Beacon Street parlour gathering, to awaken enthusiasm for the cause of her oppressed people. As soon as she left me, she went to the market at Omaha and sold her pony to help on the suit in support of the rights of Standing Bear and of the not vanishing numbers of American Indians whom he represents. She affirms that, if because she is an Indian she has no rights which the law will protect, and if she and her brothers and sisters are to be subject to the orders of Indian inspectors, and removed to the fever jungles of the South, or to any other place that caprice and cupidity may suggest, she, rather than live in the constant fear of such a fate, will go to Canada and claim the protection of the British Government.

Many of the Indian chiefs on the Plains are men of great natural ability. They know as well as anyone that the game on which they subsisted has gone, never to return. They are anxious to learn the process of agriculture. They wish to send their children to school. They not unfrequently ask for Christian missionaries. But nearly every time a tribe has attempted to raise stock and to improve land they have been removed from their possessions by some Indian inspector, and robbed of all they had, or of the best part of it. If they refuse to go the soldiers are sent to force them; and thus our Indian wars originate. Cicero, in his oration against Verres, used no denunciations too scathing to be merited by the plunderers who have fleeced the Indian tribes in a manner as ghastly and infamous as that which history, in the case of the Roman proconsuls, holds up in perpetual crucifixion.

You ask what is the trouble? Money. There are seventy-four Indian agencies in the United States. There are ten or more officers in each of the agencies. Here are seven or eight hundred of the people's offices which are within the gift of certain powers, who, of course, are very much moved by the chance of gain. I am not here to recite all the hideous proceedings of the Indian ring. This chieftain is a man. If you prick him he will bleed. If I had the typical Indian agent here, I should not say he is a man. He is an animal. If you prick him he will not bleed! The Indian agent has been pricked and again and again lacerated by public discussion. There is nothing that will harm him but the smiting of a thunderbolt through and through—his purse!—till at last this infamous system is exploded by the indignation of a Christian people.

Lyman Beecher's clock from Bowdoin Street church hangs yonder on the wall, and it tells me to pause; but if Lyman Beecher were here he would tell me to proceed. I offer these resolutions, which I believe have the approval of all who are on the platform, and I ask you to pass them, in order that this audience may help to swell a little the indignation with which the proceedings of unscrupulous men in the Indian ring, which have seemed to receive too much countenance from Washington, should be met by America. Only on one other occasion have I asked this audience to pass resolutions; and that was when the Sabbath was in danger at the American Centennial Exhibition. I move the adoption of the following resolutions, as the sense of this Boston meeting, including many ministers, teachers, and other educated men:—

## OR, THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONCORD THEISM.

1. *Resolved*, That Congress should pass a law under which patents may be issued to Indians for lands, making the homesteads of Indians inalienable for life, and free from taxation for a period of years long enough to permit them to become civilized and fairly acquainted with their responsibilities, before they can freely dispose of their property.

That resolution, if you please, does not call for immediate citizenship for Indians; for I fear, as Carl Schurz has said, that in many cases such rapid transition to the state of self-protection would end in idleness and vagrancy, or expose the weaker Indian to the danger of being plundered, as he has been again and again when thus gifted with a patent of his own. Several councils in the States where Indian reservations are numerous have petitioned Congress to grant patents, and make them inalienable for a certain term of years, in order that the owners may not be cheated out of them by land-sharks, lumbermen, miners, or unscrupulous agents.

2. *Resolved*, That the laws relating to Indian affairs should be so revised and enlarged that the Indian may become amenable to civil laws, and that patents of land in severalty may be issued to them.

You cannot protect a title unless it exists. I believe the Poncas are the only tribe in the United States that have a good deed, without any reversionary clause of which evil men can take advantage. It is said that railways are run through the Indian Territory, and lands now granted to corporations to be occupied when the Indian title is extinct. We are soon to run six railways through the land of the Sioux. There will be trouble there under the old deeds. What this resolution calls for is that there should be, by Congressional action, such a change in our laws that deeds without any reversionary clause may be given to the Indians who deserve them. Of course, the right of inheritance should be secured to Indians by public law, and the demoralizing system of giving rations to able-bodied but idle men abolished as soon as practicable.

3. *Resolved*, That the questions raised by the recent decision of Judge Dundy, in Nebraska, that the Indian is a person, though not a citizen, and that the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution gives to any person under the jurisdiction of the United States the protection of our laws, should be precisely determined by a decision of the Supreme Court.

4. *Resolved*, That if the Indian be recognized as a person, amenable to civil laws, a great step has been taken towards the destruction of the infamous Indian rings which have plundered the tribes, and, therefore, towards the prevention of Indian wars, with all their expenditures of treasure and blood.

5. *Resolved*, That, to obtain such a decision, we believe it desirable to press the appeal of the Ponca Indians, as represented by Standing Bear, their chief, and to secure the decision of a case by a full bench at Washington.

6. *Resolved*, That we recommend to the confidence and philanthropy of the public the committee already appointed in Boston and Omaha, and represented by the Rev. A. F. Sherrill, in the latter city, and by his Honour, the Mayor in Boston, to take in hand the collection of funds for the expense of this appeal.

After these resolutions had been adopted unanimously, Mr. Cook continued:

Joseph Warren is not the only ghost who has sympathy with this chieftain and with this Indian maiden. John Eliot seems to be pacing to and fro on Nonantum hill yonder; and were Warren and Eliot here in the flesh, I think they would give right hands to this maiden and to this chieftain, and at the same moment their left hands to us all, to draw us into their own advocacy of American historic principles, and into that work of aggressive evangelization of which Eliot's name is a synonym. Where is the American Church, that the whole New England zone does not flame with indignation at the wrongs of the Indian tribes? Boston flames. Omaha flames. The two ends of the zone are bright. Nay, the New

## AFTER EMERSON, WHAT?

England zone extends to the Pacific. Oregon flames; for her bishops and preachers years ago passed resolutions almost identical with those in which you have just embodied your demands. In the name of the brightest zone of American civilization, I give Joseph Warren's right hand to this chieftain. I ask him to shake hands with me in his name, as I express the sympathy of this audience [shaking hands with Standing Bear]; and I give my right hand to this young maiden, and to this philanthropist I give my right hand, and we unite with Warren and with Eliot, and with our fathers, whose memory lingers in this house, in prayer that this appeal to the Supreme Court may succeed.

## THE LECTURE.

A little while ago we were not in the world, and a little while hence we shall be here no longer. This is arithmetic. This is the clock. Demosthenes advises that every public speech should begin by an incontrovertible proposition, and surely it is scientifically incontrovertible that we are to go hence soon. De Tocqueville says that you will in vain try to make any man religious who has no thought of dying. The arithmetical certainty that we are going hence is, therefore, not merely an arithmetical, but a religious truth as well. My purpose is to imagine myself in solitude before Almighty God, and, with no guidance but the culture of this world, to seek for peace. The ambition of intellectual men has been, in past ages, to acquire power, or wealth, or social position. The serene secret truth about the deepest intellectual life of our age is that it wants peace, and the loftiest human ambition inside the circles of culture I suppose to be fastened to-day on the question: How can a man attain harmonization with his entire environment and obtain peace face to face with reality? The characteristic of our age is a passion for scientific research. We love to stand face to face, not with guesses, but with certainties, and this especially in the supreme moments of speculation, and of life and death.

Here is a house filled with historical presences, and I could easily imagine myself in high company, were I alone in this temple and completely shut away from man, as in the closet of devotion. Let me imagine myself alone with the fathers who were gathered to their fathers, as you and I are sure to be gathered to ours. It is no guess, it is an arithmetical certainty that we, too, are sojourners, and that on earth there is no abiding. I am alone, and shall not here be disturbed by the sneers of any superficial culture. I know that very few men begin to labour for themselves until they are twenty-five years of age. There are very few who continue such labour after the seventieth year. Now, between the twenty-fifth and seventieth year of my life I shall have forty-five years. Suppose I throw away

*OR, THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONCORD THEISM.*

in each year fifty-two days for Sundays, thirteen for vacation, illness, and other interruptions. I have three hundred days left in each of the forty-five years—that is, 13,500 days, before I, in all human probability, shall be gathered to the fathers. If I have strength to labour ten hours of each day, I have, in the whole mature part of my life, only 135,000 working hours.

Onward storms my strong-limbed race,  
Pause for me is nigh ;  
Long on earth will men have place,  
Not much longer I.  
Thousand summers kiss the lea,  
Only one the sheaf ;  
Thousand springs may deck the tree,  
Only one the leaf ;  
One, but one, and that one brief.

We go hence, and in our solitude we perceive another certainty—that we wish to go hence in peace. I stand here alone in my soliloquy with the spirits about me. My purpose now is to look abroad upon the present attitude of culture, and to see what I must believe as to the conditions of my peace beyond the veil.

As a whirling waterspout on the sea drops a portion of itself now and then into the great deep, and draws up another portion into the clouds, so philosophy in our age appears to be dividing itself between theists and anti-theists ; between those who yet believe in a personal God and those who drop down into materialism and pessimism and intellectual despair. Here, for instance, is pantheism, which a few years ago in Germany was like the waterspout, surrounded with vapour. We knew not whether there was any spout at all there ; nor whether there was anything firm in the cloud. The vapour has cleared away, and philosophy of the right Hegelian wing has lifted itself out of the clutches of mere airy speculations. There is a system of thought now in Germany called concrete theism ; and there is another system, called pessimism, which has dropped down into pure materialism. The doctrine of Schopenhauer and of Hartmann is that this is the worst of all worlds ; or, if it is not the worst, then it is so bad that it would have been better if it had never been created, and that the supreme aspiration of the human race must be for extinction. This, literally, is the outcome of Malthusianism and materialism, whose principles naturally run into pessimism, and end at last in the name of culture and absolute despair. That is the lower part of the waterspout which has fallen ; and here is the upper part—concrete theism. Why, of late that upper waterspout has hung over Concord, and sent down healing drops upon what were once pantheistic sands. We have reason to revere Concord as a

### AFTER EMERSON, WHAT?

teacher of theism, and even of Christian theism, if we may take as correct the representations of the principal lecturer at the Concord School of Philosophy.

What I wish to insist on is that all over the world culture is dividing itself into a higher and a lower school. Even this low water-spout, sucked up by the turmoil of hurricanes of speculation in our time—this muddy column, called free religion and liberalism—is separating itself, thank God! from libertinism. You have at Cincinnati, for instance, a convention of liberal leagues calling for the abolition of all American law against the transmission of infamous matter through the mails. You have here in Boston an infidel paper running red, crooked thunderbolts through the record of that convention at Cincinnati. You have a small minority of the infidel leagues of the United States lashing the vast majority for their barbarism, for their libertinism, as distinct from liberalism. Even with these mud-columns, we see that the characteristic division of our age is taking place between the upper and the lower range of thought: the lower, where there is a denial of all personality in God and of immortality in man; and the higher region, where immortality is certainly a hope and the personality of God a firm belief. That mud-column, dropping down an Ingersoll into the depths, and lifting up an Abbot, stained water though it be, to the top. I will speak of it with reverence, although it be stained, even while sucked into the clouds. Fasten your attention on these divided spouts, as characteristic of our time. The whirlwind passes over the great deep, and men are taking sides either with the nether or the upper powers.

Mr. Emerson came before us at first as the representative of the Hegelian vapours. I shall not venture too much in asserting that his early literary career was under the influence of pantheism.

1. "This deep power in which we exist, and whose beauty is all accessible to us, is not only self-sufficing and perfect every hour, but the act of seeing and the thing seen, the seer and the spectacle, the subject and the object, are one."

2. "The larger experience of man discovers the identical nature appearing through them all. Persons themselves acquaint us with the impersonal. In all conversation between two persons, tacit reference is made, as to a third party, to a common nature. That third party, or common nature, is not social; it is impersonal, it is God."

3. "Of the universal mind each individual is one more incarnation. All its properties consist in him."

4. "I am owner of the sphere,  
Of the seven stars and solar year,  
Of Cæsar's hand and Plato's brain,  
Of Lord Christ's heart and Shakespeare's strain."

*OR, THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONCORD THEISM.*

This is the pantheism of Mr. Emerson's earlier essays, nor did he fail to derive from it dangerous inferences in morals.

5. "No law can be sacred to me," says our author, "but that of my own nature. If I am the devil's child, I will live from the devil. Good and bad are names very readily transferable to this or that. The only right is what is after my constitution, the only wrong, what is against it. A man is to carry himself, in the presence of all opposition, as if everything were titular and ephemeral but he."

6. "One man thinks justice consists in paying debts, and has no measure in his abhorrence of another who is very remiss in this and makes the creditor wait tediously. But that second man has his own way of looking at things."

7. "I hear some reader say: You have arrived at a fine Pyrrhonism, at an equivalence and indifferency of all actions, and would fain teach us that our crimes may be lively stones, out of which we shall construct the temple of the true God! I am not careful to justify myself."

That is the position in which the upper half of this waterspout stood some years ago; but to-day it is surely worth noting as a sign of the times, and to me, in my solitude, gazing on this hurricane, it is a fact worthy of study, that Mr. Emerson proclaims himself now to be a theist; and, although I do not call him exactly a Christian theist, I do believe him to be a theist of the most unapologetic and audacious kind. It is hardly ten years ago, however, since the learned and eloquent author of "Half Truths and The Truth" taught at Andover that Mr. Emerson is a pantheist.

"A writer who declares that persons are 'poor empirical pretensions,' ripples on the ocean of real being; who says that subject and object, the seer and the thing seen, are one; who affirms that the personal brings us to the impersonal, which is God, or the sole reality—this writer must be set down as a pantheist, or language may mean just the opposite of what it plainly asserts, and Hegel himself was not a Hegelian, nor Spinoza a Spinozist."

This language was just at the time. The scene to-day has changed, and the change is worth noting. Mr. Emerson's life-long neighbour, Mr. Alcott, before an audience at Andover, not many evenings since, called him, in my hearing, not only a theist, but a Christian theist; and not only a Christian theist, but in the full sense of the words, a Christian theist. At any rate, the Concord School of Philosophy wishes to be considered theistic in the full Christian sense; and that is a circumstance worth attention. God be thanked that I have lived to see Christian theism, or what calls itself such at Concord, shake hands with Orthodox theology at Andover and elsewhere!



## AFTER EMERSON, WHAT?

Here is Mr. Emerson's greatly changed present language: \*

1. "A new Socrates, or Zeno, or Swedenborg, or Pascal, or a new crop of geniuses like those of the Elizabethan age, may be born in this age, and, with happy heart and a bias for theism, bring asceticism, duty, and magnanimity into vogue again."

2. "I confess our later generation appears ungirt, frivolous, compared with the religious of the last or Calvinistic age. There was in the last century a serious habitual reference to the spiritual world, running through diaries, letters, and conversation—yes, and into wills and legal instruments also, compared with which our liberation looks a little foppish and dapper."

3. "A sleep comes over the great functions of man. Enthusiasm goes out. In its stead a low prudence seeks to hold society staunch; but its arms are too short—cordage and machinery never supply the peace of life."

4. "Luther would cut his hand off sooner than write these against the pope if he suspected that he was bringing on with all his might the pale negations of Boston Unitarianism."

5. "You say, 'Cut away; my tree is Ygdrasil—the tree of life.' He interrupts for the moment your peaceful trust in the Divine Providence. Let him know by your security that your conviction is clear and sufficient, and if he were Paul himself, you also are here, and with your Creator."

6. "Virtue is the adopting of the universal mind by the individual will. Character is the habit of this obedience, and religion is the accompanying emotion, the emotion of reverence which the presence of the universal mind ever excites in the individual."

7. "'Tis a sort of proverbial dying speech of scholars—at least it is attributed to many—that which Anthony Wood reports of Nathaniel Carpenter, an Oxford Fellow. 'It did repent him,' he said, 'that he had formerly so much courted the maid instead of the mistress' (meaning philosophy and mathematics) 'to the neglect of divinity.' This, in the language of our time, would be ethics."

That does not sound like the roaring of the earlier half of the history of this crystalline liquid pillar with vapour around it.

Most emphatically at this hour, Concord, which once taught pantheism at the lips of Mr. Alcott, asserts theism. Channing said in 1841 of the School of Transcendentalists in this city, that very few of them were consciously pantheists; but that he had heard pantheism from Mr. Alcott, who, as the nation knows, now teaches theism. There has come upon Eastern Massachusetts such a change, that to-day, if I am to be serious in my solitude, if I am not to take the side of superficiality and coarseness, if I am to be abreast of the loftiest

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\* *North American Review*, May and June, 1878, essay on "The Sovereignty of Ethics."

*OR, THE CONSEQUENCES OF CONCORD THEISM.*

thought in the tumult of our speculative age, I must believe in two things—that I shall go hence as a personality, and that on the other side of the grave I shall meet God as a personality.

Can I walk with Him in peace unless I love what He loves and hate what He hates? We desire certainty. My passion, I hope, is a love of reality. And I am beginning here and now, far off and with propositions that I hope are incontrovertible, a justification of my belief that without similarity of feeling with God, I can have no peace in His presence; and also of my conviction that without some screen to shut off from my conscience and the sight of God my record in the black past, I cannot be harmonized with that record. Slowly I wish to lead you on from point to point of absolute certainty, till we see whether Tennyson was right in his "Palace of Art," in representing culture as leading to despair. I shall assume from this point that we agree with the higher and not with the lower schools of discussion; and that we take as ours this loftier range of thought which asserts theism and has immortality as a hope. Assuming God and immortality, what can culture do to give us peace? This is a purely scientific question, and to the answer to it we shall listen in the future.

## *OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS; OR, RECENT TRIUMPHS OF THEISM.*

### PRELUDE.—HOPES AND FEARS IN AMERICAN POLITICS.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, the tallow-chandler's son, who was born on the opposite side of yonder street, saturated our Revolutionary era with the doctrine that the poor man's all is as dear to him as the rich man's all to him; and the inference from this proposition was, that the poor man needed the vote as much as the rich, and perhaps more, because the vote was his chief means of securing himself from assault, which the rich man might easily repel by other means than suffrage. Sound ideas as to finance, the purity of elections, and the yet pestilent doctrine of State rights, have recently been honoured and hallowed in elections from Maine to California by a tornado of popular approval. Even reactionary critics are inclined to indorse Franklin's extreme doctrine as to suffrage, although Mr. Phillips tells us that Boston does not believe in democracy, and that New England is shy to this day of the positions of Franklin in this respect. An aroused and independent suffrage, has always wrought justice in the United States; a torpid, unexercised suffrage has been the paradise of political tricksters from the beginning of our national history. Our first century of political experience proves, not that our suffrage needs to be narrowed, except by the reading test, of which may Providence speed the adoption; but that the number of our elections, the extent of our political machinery, the power of political managers as a professional class, need to be restricted. The term system, the spoils system, are phrases that mean very nearly the same thing in our swiftly recurring elections, and they have brought into existence a class of professional political managers and merely party men, whose power is a menace to our crowded and hazardous future.

My topic is Hopes and Fears after the late Elections, but as I have many fears let me emphasize strongly my hopes.

We begin to see that the census of 1880 will be the final reply to the rebel heresies of the Southern States. Goldwin Smith has told us that if Canada had belonged to the American Union in 1860, we should have had no civil war, for the suffrage of the North would have decisively outweighed that of the South. But after the census of 1880, and the redistribution of places in Congress according to the new count, it is altogether probable that any Confederate statesman now there will be in a minority, and a Confederate statesman in a minority is a very different political creature from a Confederate statesman in the majority. Look at this map of the constitutional population of the country, and see how heavily the North is already weighted [referring to Walker's Statistical Atlas of the United States, open on the platform]. Examine this other map of the illiteracy of the country, and notice that the North is not heavily weighted with darkness

## OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS.

in contrast with the Gulf. Look at the shadows on the Chesapeake, on the Savannah, on the lower part of the Mississippi, and along the Gulf coast of Texas. Compare these with this zone of free schools and omnipresent newspapers, stretching from Philadelphia and the northern border of Maine straight away towards the sunset. When you add the constitutional population that has been accumulated since the census of 1870, to the fact of the superior illumination of the North, you may well see that Providence is in a conspiracy to give success to intelligence. There is a conspiracy for the success of Northern ideas in this Union, and the parties to that conspiracy are the free schools and the multiplication table, and the census, and the Constitution of the United States.

The interests of the Southern States themselves will not be adequately protected, I think, except under the stern prevalence of Northern principles. I am not now assailing the Southern population, but simply certain Confederate politicians, who have learned nothing, and who will be utterly unteachable except by the census.

Only the census will bring the South to its senses. Why, not long ago I was at Topeka, in Kansas, and saw freedmen flocking out of bondage. If American citizens were living in Germany, or France, or England, and were so treated that by thousands they should take flight to secure their property and their lives, the American flag would very soon have its honour vindicated abroad by the power of the American Executive; but American citizens under our flag along the Gulf are so treated that they fly to Kansas for safety in property and life. An American citizen, under the American flag, is safer to-day in Afghanistan than he is in the South, if he is a freedman, and undertakes to vote an unpopular political ticket.

In the facts of our present condition, there is much to justify the large unconfessed anxieties of those who are the most thoughtful as to the future of the nation; but I am here to emphasize for a moment the gladness of the hour. We are lifting our feet from the further side of the last deep morass on the river bank of our civil conflict. I sometimes think of the civil war as a stream of blood running through morasses. The beginning of the reedy marsh we reached in the year 1851, when we passed the Fugitive Slave Bill. We walked painfully across the oozy acres of the Kansas struggle, on the left bank of the river, and in 1861 our feet plunged into the bloody current. On Gettysburg we first felt the firm land under our feet on the opposite side, and at Richmond we took our feet out of the scarlet stream. And then came those morasses of hard times brooded over by their fogs of inflation, and communism, and socialism, and many of our heaviest walkers in politics seemed themselves to be sinking in the Serbonian bog. But, on the first day of the current year we felt firm land under our feet in the matter of resumption. And now, thank God! we begin to feel land that is a part of the clean bank we shall reach in the census of 1880. I see in that date the other side of the morass. For thirty years we have been passing through either the river or the treacherous, pestilential, oozy acres. From 1851 to 1881 is a stretch of thirty years, over which the bloody current of the civil war cast out either its own swirling eddies, or else the morasses produced at the edge of the stream. We are nearly through. Take courage, for the land of 1880 is in sight; and we have put down slavery, we have put down rebellion, we have put down inflation, we have put down hard times, we have put down demagogism enlisted on the side of inflation, and we have done all this under free popular suffrage.

Demagogism, however, will be alive after all the demagogues who are now alive are dead; Butlerism will not die with Butler, and the defenders of false systems in finance will not die with the Ohio idea. It was my fortune, in Gov. Foster's

## *OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS;*

own town in Ohio, not long since, to lecture on the question, "Does Death End All?" and on leaving the hall in the middle of the afternoon, when the streets were alive with martial music and a great procession, a shrewd man turned to me, and said, "We wish you would speak this evening in the public square, and take for your subject this question, 'Does Death End All—with the Rag Baby?'" We may well ask whether death ends all with demagogism in Massachusetts, for our manufacturing populations, which have been wheedled into the support of false theories, are growing very rapidly, and we need to be taught in the future the duty of benevolence towards this class, the duty of justice on the part of the dominant political party towards all working-men, the duty of large sympathy with the working class everywhere, if we are to contend against the clamour of demagogues who defend heresies of a socialistic and a communistic order.

But, now, if these things are the hopes, what are the fears? My native State has been ground under the wheels of what is called the "political machine." I am glad enough, personally, that the result has been what it is, and yet the result was reached at an immense cost. Here is Fisher Ames (pointing to his portrait on the wall), who feared that the power of the politicians would ruin the republic. What if we bring Benjamin, the tallow chandler's son, and Fisher Ames to this platform, and confront them by the senator from New York and by another Benjamin from Massachusetts. Here is the contrast of the earlier portion of our political history and of the later,—the power of the manager of the political machine over against the power of the statesman, the power of the demagogue over against the power of a true friend of the people.

The certainty is, that in the election in New York the administration itself suffered not a little humiliation.

You remember that the present Executive at Washington came into office promising to carry through schemes of Civil Service Reform. You remember his famous order in which he directed that no government official should be taxed for campaign purposes. You remember how the present Governor-elect of New York was dismissed from the Custom House in disgrace. You remember how sternly the senator who nominated this man to be the next governor of New York opposed the Administration's ideas of Civil Service Reform. You remember how in a hundred ways that strenuous party man threw contempt upon the cause which ostensibly lay close to the heart of the present Administration. And yet, what has happened? Why, the great Secretary of the Treasury, than whom there has not been in history a statesman more worthy of honour for his financial victories, has been made to take a low place at the side of the triumphant chariot of the party man, the senator of New York. He has been obliged to take the platform side by side with Mr. Dutcher, the appraiser, and go about swallowing his own record on Civil Service Reform. There is a letter in existence of the Secretary of the Treasury, authorising the Appraiser Dutcher to leave his post of public duty and to call on the Government officials under him for contributions to maintain the campaign in New York State.

Mr. Evarts himself was regarded with secret pity in New York city as obliged to take a humiliating position, for he came there to defend the candidate who had been nominated in defiance of the wishes and pledges of the administration—that is, in defiance of the whole scheme of Civil Service Reform. I am not one of those who would counsel unnecessary revolt to young men in politics; I do not know that I should have voted, had I been in New York State, with that wing of the Republican party who endeavoured to defeat the nomination dictated by the senator from New York; but the certainty is, that the clamour which has been

## OR, RECENT TRIUMPHS OF THEISM.

raised in favour of political machinery and indorsed by some men high in the pulpit, and by many men high in the press,—the clamour that has been raised to put down the protest of editors of the soberer and more far-seeing type, like Mr. Curtis, and of all who consistently defend Civil Service Reform—this clamour and these men, I hold, are not cheerful omens as to our future, when we anticipate the temptations which the spoils system, as aided by the term system, will inevitably bring into the politics of what is soon to be the richest nation on the earth. In our last New York election we have much to humiliate ourselves for, in the disgrace we have cast upon our professed opposition to a corrupt civil service, and in the contempt we have thrown upon our professed adherence to principles that would purify the field of politics from the activity of merely party men.

There are many persons who are clamouring in the circles of scholarship—I will not say clamouring, but whispering in private so loudly that inside the circles of culture the noise sounds like a clamour—for the abolition of the term system in this country. Here is Mr. Stickney, the author of the book called "*The True Republic*," who wants only the President and a legislative assembly and a judiciary elected by the people. He would have the President appoint his Cabinet, and every Cabinet officer appoint his subordinates: he would have every officer of the Government removable by his superior, but only for bad conduct; he would allow each one to keep his place during good conduct; and he would take all power of making appointments from Congress, but would have the President removable by a two-thirds vote of its members for bad conduct.

This is very extreme discussion. I am not justifying Stickney's ideas, but I tell young men, I tell middle-aged men, who are friends of the political machine, and against anything like independent voting, that there is a storm brewing against political machinery, against party men as distinguished from statesmen, against any politics that consists merely of the advocacy of the interests of one political organization as distinguished from the interests of the people at large. Scholars are demanding, as I find in many centres of the country, an abolition of the spoils system, but the spoils system depends on the term system. The best thought of the country is, I think, willing that the spoils system should be abolished by the abolition of the term system, in two fields at least, the Civil Service and the Judiciary. The Civil Service should not be governed by the term system now, as it was not in the time of our fathers; the Judiciary should not be governed by the term system exclusively, although in twenty-two States it now is so governed. We have had terrific experience of the power of frequent elections to bring into existence a professional class of political managers and an immense use of political machinery against which the people are absolutely powerless. A great class of the best people in New York State were ridden over, rough shod, by the political managers of that commonwealth in the last election.

I know that Mr. Beecher tells us, in Plymouth Church, that young men must not protest against the machine unless they are very young. Well, I will bear the imputation of being young in this respect, for I believe that the demand that the spoils system in politics shall not take the people's offices to pay merely party men for their services to party, and to keep such men in fat places, is the protest of the soundest heads in the republic, the protest of the best hearts among young men, the protest of the sternest patriotism we have, and better than all, the protest of the first fifty years of our political history, and of our fathers. Here is the spot for protest to be lifted up, in the name of those who have gone before us in this very hall. The time has arrived for the stern demand that party men shall

### *OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS,*

not take the place of statesmen, and that the people's offices shall not be given away to reward merely partisan services.

It is a topic on which we are likely to hear much,—the interference of political machinery with the people's rights—and I would not place myself on extreme ground without emphasizing what everybody knows, that there must be parties in free politics, and that a party government is necessary with our institutions. But the independent voter, the bolting voter, is to be encouraged also, as well as the party man. The statesman is to be encouraged; and if he revolt, if under any set of temptations party men undertake to make slaves of statesmen, the time has become serious. Mr. Buchanan once sent an officer of his Cabinet into North Carolina to inflame rebellion, and told him that he hoped he would have success. In Clingman's speeches you will read the detailed statement of the way in which Mr. Thompson was sent into North Carolina to solicit the legislature to pass a vote to secede from the Union. You say I am assailing Mr. Buchanan because he is not of my political party. President Lincoln, I suppose, did not care to appoint as Secretary of War the first man who occupied that position under his administration. There was a bargain, as all men understand who know the inside of politics, that a certain person from Pennsylvania should be put in the place, which he occupied for a few months, until his corruption caused him to be dropped; and Lincoln, a man honest to the last fibre, and utterly incapable of seeking his own interests in opposition to those of the people, did seek the interests of his party, and for a few months humiliated the nation by keeping in his Cabinet a man whose whole career there was open to stern criticism and ended in his disgrace. You have in office now, at Washington, a man whom I believe to be at heart as pure as Lincoln; but yet I cannot say that the pledges of the present Executive concerning Civil Service Reform have been carried out. Party pressure has been brought to bear, this immense extent of patronage belonging to party has exerted its sorcery upon the present Executive, and we have seen two members of the Cabinet go down to the metropolitan city on our Atlantic seaboard and intercede with the people for the election of a determined enemy of the Civil Service Reform. There were many reasons for thus interceding with the people; but the administration, elected on the bold proclamation of its purpose to carry forward Civil Service Reform, has been brought under such pressure that this humiliation easily occurs. We are so used to seeing the President manipulated by party men, that we do not reflect sufficiently on the dangers that may arrive in the future, when our parties become more concentrated in great cities than they now are, and less open to reform through the protest of the independent voter and of the pulpit and of the higher press.

In view of the humiliations of the last elections, let us wear our triumphs meekly. We are out of the morass, but on those highlands which begin with the census of 1880: who knows what perils may gather? The extent of our political machinery, the size of the spoils open to party greed and fraud, these are to be our great danger in the future. The British constitution is a growth. Some men in Congress hope to repeal all the amendments we have added to our Constitution since the war. Our Constitution is a growth; and although Gladstone calls it, just as it stood when our fathers gave it to us, the noblest work man ever produced in politics at one stroke, it is better now than it was; and who knows but that on this high bank which we soon should reach, we may have opportunity to enter a new period of constitutional growth, and at last to bring ourselves out of the perils of these swiftly recurring elections, and of this immense party machinery, and of the fraud and greed that underlie

## OR, RECENT TRIUMPHS OF THEISM.

our political management. I think the time has come for a bold, frank attack on the spoils system in our politics, even if we have to say a word against the term system which makes these elections so frequent. The time has come when bold speculation about other amendments to the Constitution is in order, and when we may well call on the fathers to bring us back to their own ideals, and inspire us with enthusiasm for growth in our fundamental law until it shall fit us as the British Constitution fits England, changed here and there as exigencies require, but growing with the necessities of American society to be as graceful as the Roman toga was about the form of Cicero or of Cæsar, flowing about us and not pinching us. It has done the latter in New York. It has done the latter in the political intimidations, frauds, and murders in many tracts of the Southern States. It will do this again and again, until we insist on the growth of the Constitution. We are choked by political machinery. The political costumes which should be a free wardrobe, are so cut by professional fashion-mongers in politics as to keep us from breathing deeply. You think I am taking too deep a breath now in justifying the young men of New York city who opposed a party management of the campaign. You think I am speaking too loudly, and that I ought to tie the constricting necklace of party management about my throat. Not I to-day. And never you and never I, in this house.

### THE LECTURE.

IN spite of a conspiracy of silence on the part of the organs of extreme views as to evolution, it is known to many, and should be known to all, that materialism has lately received in England what ought to be a fatal blow at the hands of the British Association. Years ago in this lectureship, when my effort was to introduce new subjects into natural theology, protoplasm was forced to the front. All current discussion keeps it there. Acting as an observer of the signs of the times, I must emphasize President Allman's assertion that protoplasm cannot account for thought. He thinks it may be the physical basis of life, but is quite sure that it cannot be the psychical basis of consciousness. Read his elaborate address on "Protoplasm and Life,"\* and you will find that the British Association has shaken itself clear of all complicity with the materialistic positions in theology to which Huxley and Tyndall have endeavoured to commit it by their own addresses.

There has been a determined effort in this country to commit the American Association for the Advancement of Science to positions essentially materialistic. Attempts here in that direction will have the fate of the attempts of the same sort in England and in Germany. The world of scholarship is a unit, and to-day the doctrine, the accredited scientific inculcation, of the most advanced minds, is that, while what is called germinal matter may be the physical basis of life,

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\* See "Popular Science Monthly" for October, 1879.



### *OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS;*

it is not at all and, so far as science can perceive, cannot ever be placed by philosophy in the position of the psychical basis of thought, choice, and emotion. Here we have this large admission, and on account of this advanced position of our great authorities I am taking for granted what I have so long been proving in this lectureship, that the soul which thinks and chooses and feels is not matter; that, as life existed before organization, it may exist after; that it is no more wonderful that the organic principle which has made this body should make another, than that it already has made our present wardrobe of flesh; and, indeed, that it is less wonderful that we should live again than that we should live at all. So thoroughly have these positions permeated the sober, earnest thought of New England, that last summer, in the Concord School of Philosophy, no opportunity to peep or mutter was given to a materialist. A very narrow platform, you say. Well, Concord built it. Very sectarian philosophy, you think. Well, Concord has had a reputation for liberalism, and she is not sufficiently liberal to-day to admit to the list of her teachers any man who is materialistic enough to deny the immortality of the soul or the personality of God.

In October, 1875, from the platform of the Boston Monday Lectureship, while the accents of Professor Huxley's authoritative voice in his lectures at New York, on "Evolution," were yet intimidating the ears of Americans, it was my fortune to expose as a blunder his theory that the bottoms of the deep seas are covered by a sheet of living slime, from which has been derived all the life on the planet.\* Hæckel has attempted to defend Bathybius, the name Huxley gave to this sheet of gelatinous matter; but he has not made a convert of Professor Huxley. The latter seconded a vote of thanks to Professor Allman at the close of his address before the British Association, and in the following remarkable language defined his present position as to this abandoned final defence of Hæckel's materialistic views of the origin of life. "The president, in the early part of his address," said Professor Huxley, "alluded to a certain thing—I hardly know whether I ought to call it thing or not—of which he gave you the name Bathybius, and he stated, with perfect justice, that I had brought that thing into notice; at any rate, indeed, I christened it, and I am, in a certain sense, its earliest friend. For some time after that interesting Bathybius was launched into the world a number of admirable persons took the little thing by the hand and made very much of it. And so things went on, and I thought my young friend Bathybius would turn out a credit to me. But, I am sorry to say, as time has gone

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\* "Boston Monday Lectures," Vol. I., pp. 1-5.

OR, RECENT TRIUMPHS OF THEISM.

on, he has not altogether verified the promise of his youth. In the first place, as the president told you, he could not be found when he was wanted; and, in the second place, when he was found, all sorts of things were said about him. Indeed, I regret to be obliged to tell you that some persons of severe minds went so far as to say that he was nothing but a gelatinous precipitate of slime, which had carried down organic matter. If that is so, I am very sorry for it, for, whoever else may have joined in this error, I am undoubtedly primarily responsible for it. I rest in the most entire and complete confidence that, if this should happen to be a blunder of mine, some day or other it will be carefully exposed by somebody!"\*

Taking the Concord platform and that of Virchow and of the British Association for the Advancement of Science as representative of culture, and as standing in such a position that they who cannot come upon it deserve no serious answer, pardon me if now, in my soliloquy, I endeavour to reinstate in your confidence the argument from design, pulverized as some of you think it is, outgrown as many of you have been accustomed so haughtily to call it. I must approach this difficult topic with illustrations that will carry every one with me, and I hope not to use technical terms; but it is absolutely essential that I should sink one distinction in your minds so deeply that it cannot be uprooted—namely, that between the *existence* of forces and the *direction* of forces, between the activity of forces and the correlation of forces, so that they conspire to produce a given result.

The Scotch philosopher, Beattie, once went into his garden and drew in the soft earth the letters C. W. B. He sowed these furrows with garden cresses, smoothed the earth, and went away. These were the initials of his little boy, who had never been taught anything concerning God, although he had learned to read. "Ten days later," says Beattie, "the child came running to me in amazement, and said: 'My name has grown in the garden.' Well, what if it has?" said the philosopher. "That is nothing," and turned away. But the child took his father by the hand, led him to the garden-plat, and said: "What made those letters?" "I see very well," the father replied, "that the initials of your name have grown up here in the garden. That is an accident," and he turned away again. The child followed him, took him by the hand, brought him back to the spot, and said, very earnestly: "Some one must have planted the seeds to make the letters." "Do you really believe those letters cannot have been produced by chance?" said the father. "I believe somebody planted them," said the son, who probably did not know

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\* "Popular Science Monthly," October, 1879, p. 862.

OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS;

what chance meant. "Very well," said the father, "look at your hands and your feet; consider your eyes and all your members. Are they not skilfully arranged? How did your hand get its shape?" The boy replied: "Somebody must have made my hands for me." "Who is that some one?" said the father. "I do not know," said the child. "Do you feel certain that somebody planted these seeds, and sure that some one made your hands?" "Yes," said the boy, with great earnestness. And then the father communicated to the child the name of the great Being by whom all things are made, and the boy never forgot the lesson nor the circumstances which led to it.

Now I bring the materialist, or any one who doubts the validity of the argument from design to prove the existence of a God possessing intelligence, to this garden-plat. I say: "Will you explain for me the letters C. W. B.?" The materialist replies: "I will do so, and can do so very easily, for the letters are explained by the powers in the seeds." "Let us hear your explanation in detail," I reply. "Very well," the materialist goes on to say, "there is a garden cress making the head of the letter C. Is not that garden cress accounted for by the seed from which it grows?" "Yes," I reply. "Here is a cress making the neck of the C. Is not that accounted for by the seed from which it sprang?" "Yes," I say. And so he goes on through the fifty garden cresses that make up the letter. He accounts for each one of the cresses and then infers that he has accounted for the letter. I stop him, and say that to account for each one of those garden cresses is not at all to account for the arrangement of the cresses into the shape of the C. Why did they not arrange themselves as a W or a B, or in any other form, or in no form at all? You account for each one of the garden cresses, and think you have accounted for the letter. No, you have not; for there is a great distinction between the powers of these seeds to produce garden cresses and that power which collocated the seeds into the shape of the letter. Here is the distinction between the *existence* of the forces of matter and the *direction* of those forces.

Theists are ready to grant that wonderful powers have been given to atoms of matter, and that the molecular constitution of these substances which we touch and call inert is marvellous beyond all comment; but the question is whether any such powers have been given to atoms as to account for the direction of the forces that inhere in the atoms, and such a direction that, although these forces are active at ten thousand times ten billion discrete points, they all work together to a common end. The garden cresses account for each part of the letter, but do not account for the shape of the letter. Whoever

will look sharply at this illustration will see that the parts, if you take them without this idea of collocation, are not the whole, even if they are added together. He who takes up these garden cresses and holds them in his hand has not the whole letter C in his hand. Goethe said that he who holds in his palm the parts of a watch has not the whole watch, because he has not the form in which the parts must be put together in order to produce a mechanism to keep time.

President Allman, indeed, uses language that is philosophically careless. He says that "irritability has its seat in protoplasm, and is the prime mover of every phenomenon of life."\* Objection may justly be taken to the word "prime" in this proposition. Mere irritability will never develop protoplasm into a rose, nor provide for man the finest of the wheat. In the problem of the origin of life there is a silent factor which Prof. Allman does not expressly recognize. The central question is:—What accounts for the variety of form in organisms? Not irritability alone, without the co-ordinating power called life. The claims of morphology cannot be satisfied without this immaterial principle, which Aristotle called the cause of form in organisms.

Kepler, the astronomer, was one day called by his wife from his study of the natural forces, to dinner, and a salad was laid on the table. "Dost thou think," said he to his spouse, "that, if leaves of lettuce and drops of oil and vinegar and fragments of hard-boiled eggs had been in circulation from eternity in chaos, that chance could have assembled them to-day to form a salad?" "Not as good a one as this," said his wife, "nor as well seasoned." †

Abbé Galliani, in Paris, once met a company of atheists in a Baron d'Holbach's parlour. "Now suppose, gentlemen," said he, "that the one among you who is most fully convinced that the world is the effect of chance"—I am reading you historic language—"is playing with three dice. I do not say in a gambling-house, but in the best house in Paris. His antagonist throws sixes, once, twice, three, four times—in a word, constantly. My friend Diderot will say, without a moment's doubt, that the dice are loaded. I am in a bad house. Because of ten or a dozen throws of the dice, you believe firmly that this is in consequence of trickery and combination, and well-planned combination; but, seeing in this universe so prodigious a number of combinations, a thousand times more complicated and complicated more usefully, you do not suspect that the dice of Nature

\* "Popular Science Monthly," October, 1879, p. 745.  
Fondateurs de l'Astronomie moderne."

† Bertrand, "Des

### OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS;

are loaded also, and that there is above them a great rogue, who takes pleasure in catching you atheists in your superficiality.”\*

These familiar concrete examples emphasize the distinction made prominent by Chalmers, and after him by Mill, between the laws of matter and the collocations of matter. “We can imagine all the present and existing laws of matter to be in full operation,” said Chalmers,† “and yet, just for want of a right local disposition of parts, the universe might be that wild, undigested medley of things in which no trace or character of a designing architect was at all discernible.” Mr. Mill says ‡ that “collocations, as well as laws, are necessary to the operation of Nature,” and he does not overlook the profound truth that “the laws of Nature do not account for their origin.”

A slovenly observation of facts, and a lack of rigour in applying the explanation of facts to the principle that every change must have an adequate cause, are the most ordinary sources of scepticism as to the existence of design in Nature. A specialist may be lively and yet wall-eyed.

I take in my hand a book, and you say that the book is made by the laws of grammar. I say it is made *according to* the laws of grammar. You say the book of the universe is made by the laws of Nature. Carpenter replies that you must never affirm that the universe is governed *by* law; but that what you ought to say is that it is governed *according to* law. This book is not made by the laws of grammar; it is made according to the laws of printing and grammar. The printer has this type, and nothing but a chaotic mass of ink-spots on the page. The collocation of them is the thing to be accounted for. The cutting of the face of the type is, indeed, wonderful, and must be accounted for when we look sharply into the last of things. Those atoms of which so much is said have the appearance, as Max Müller affirms, of manufactured articles. The cause, if they have all these marvellous powers which some men attribute to them, where they obtained them.

When I was crossing the Rocky Mountains, it was my fortune to find some moss agates, and the beautiful ferns inside, or the flowers resembling ferns, were enswathed by the crystalline. Teach me haughtily the atomic theory, if you please; tell me what the ultimate particles of matter have power, I care not how marvellous: I reply that, according to physical science, these different particles never have touched each other. They are enswathed by a

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\* Janet, “Final Causes,” Book II., chap. 1.

† “Natural Theology,” II. 11.

‡ “Logic,” III. 12-16.

## *OR, RECENT TRIUMPHS OF THEISM.*

force that accounts for their harmoniously co-ordinated motions, and which in all organisms must have acted to produce the adaptation of part to part. As the crystalline stone enswathes the mysterious growths in the moss agate, so a co-ordinating power enswathes all atoms and all worlds, and the universe is but a moss agate in the crystalline stone of God's omnipresent intelligence.

You say Concord theism runs into anthropomorphism—that is, that I teach that God is like man. Well, anthropomorphism is better than what I call hylomorphism—that is, the doctrine that God is like matter; and pantheism, when it makes all force only an outcome of certain powers inhering in the original atoms, is reducing our idea of what is highest in the universe to the level of matter and its forces, and is properly enough called, not anthropomorphic, indeed, but hylomorphic, which is a great deal more vile.

Is there in the universe intention not my own? Every one answers: "Yes; in other human beings." But precisely the same argument which proves to me that a human being other than myself has had an intention in any given work, proves that a Supreme Intelligence has had an intention in what is called Nature. It is inconsistent with sound doctrine for me to deny that other human beings have intentions. It is, for the same reason, inconsistent with sound doctrine for me to deny that the Supreme Intelligence has intentions, or that Nature has final as well as efficient cause.

1. Let cause mean all that is necessary to explain an effect.

2. In a statue of Hercules we shall have, therefore, according to Aristotle's distinctions between causes, first, a material cause in the marble; an efficient cause in the chisel of the sculptor; a formal cause in the shape of the statue; and a final cause in its destination to be set up to adorn a temple.

Here are the famous distinctions between material, efficient, formal, and final causes; and it is necessary that these definitions should be put before the public at large; if we are to come before it with anything like full statements of the freshest investigation of the proofs that God is a person. You must distinguish between the marble of the statue, the chisel that makes the statue, the shape of the statue, and the destination of the statue. All these circumstances are causes; but they are not causes in the same sense.

3. All these causes may co-exist. Neither in man's work nor in Nature does the operation of efficient causes shut out that of final causes.

4. The fullest proof that the course of Nature is governed by efficient causes would be no disproof that it is also governed by final

## OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS

causes. To prove that a statue is made by a chisel is no disproof that it was made in order to represent Hercules and to be set up in a temple.

5. It is the absurd claim of many physicists who have not studied philosophy that efficient and final causes exclude each other; but the better educated of physicists make no such claim.

Huxley says: "The teleological and mechanical views of Nature are not necessarily mutually exclusive. The teleologists can always defy the evolutionist to disprove that the primordial molecular arrangement was not *intended* to evolve the phenomena of the universe."

It is very important to insist upon the fact that material, efficient, formal, and final causes may co-exist. To prove that a fact of Nature is governed by an efficient cause is no disproof that it is also governed by a final cause. Nevertheless, we have hundreds of well-educated men, who think that if they have proof that the universe has been thrown into its present form by the action of the forces we call gravitation, chemical affinity, and the like, there is no proof that there is any design in the universe. If there is an efficient cause for any given effect, then they think there is no necessity for a final cause. That is like asserting that, because this statue of Hercules has been chiselled by a piece of steel, the efficient cause of the statue cannot have co-existed with an intention on the part of the maker to set up the work to adorn a temple. The great point to be insisted on in answering anti-theistic theories is that the material, the efficient, the formal, and the final causes of the universe may co-exist and do not come into collision at all.

6. Without here raising the question whether the theory of evolution is true or false, it is evident that it concerns only a question of process, or answers the question *How*, and not the question *Why*.

7. But the question *How* does not exclude the question *Why*, and so the theory of evolution does not render final causes either impossible or useless.

8. Combinations of repeated and multiplex phenomena—such that they converge to one effect—exist in countless numbers in Nature.

9. Convergence of phenomena in repeated and multiplex cases is itself a phenomenon and requires a cause.

10. When a certain coincidence of phenomena is remarked constantly, it is not enough to explain each phenomenon by referring it to its antecedent. It is necessary to give a precise reason for the coincidence itself.\*

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\* See Janet, "Final Causes," Book I., chapter 1, and Book II. chapter 1.

OR, RECENT TRIUMPHS OF THEISM.

This is the proposition on which Janet founds his recent book on "Final Causes," a volume that I recommend to the attentive study of every one who thinks the argument of design is abandoned by scholars. It has been re-stated within ten years in such a form that I suppose materialism does not hope to undermine the new shape that it has. John Stuart Mill affirmed over and over that whoever would prove the personality of God should adhere to the argument from design. I am not ashamed to place Janet's work on "Final Causes"—a book I have read through of late in the railway trains—side by side with any production of the anti-theistic school; and when the volumes are weighed in the balances of a nice logic, I believe the result will be that atheism will go up as far the lighter in the logical scale.

11. Certain combinations—as, for example, of the parts of the eye—are intelligible only on the supposition that millions of forces have combined so as to produce sight.

12. There is here a strange accord of the past with the future.

13. It is a fact of observation that this accord of the past with the future exists in Nature in cases innumerable.

14. It is to be false to the principle of causality to leave unexplained this accord of the past with the future.

15. As a cause must include all that is necessary to explain an effect, the convergence of causes must itself be explained in harmony with the principle that involution and evolution, under natural law, are an eternal equation.

16. But the strange accord of the past with the future in the growth of the eye will be fortuitous, or without adequate cause, if it is not granted that the combination of parts has taken place under control of a tendency that from the first has in view the sight, which springs up only at the last. The combination of millions of forces so as to produce sight is intelligible only on the principle that they have been combined *in order* to produce sight. "When the question is about an organic evolution which is in the future," says Claude Bernard, "we no longer comprehend the property of matter at long range. The egg is to become something; but how conceive that matter should have, as a property, to include operations of mechanism which do not yet exist?" John Stuart Mill, in a well-known passage of his essay on "Theism," admits that the argument just stated concerning the eye is in strict accordance with the principles of inductive logic.

17. This reasoning does not start from the hypothesis that sight is an end, nor that the eye is an adaptation of means to an end; for either of these pre-suppositions would involve a vicious circle.



*OUTGROWN RELIGIOUS DOUBTS AND PANICS.*

18. The reasoning starts from effects, and from the observation that they are possible only because a certain strange accord exists between the past and the future, and this in the action of millions of forces.

19. The observation of facts, therefore, gives us as a criterion of final cause the agreement of the present and past with the future, and the determination of the former by the foresight of the latter.

20. The demonstrated accord of the past and the future in the growth of the eye, and the innumerable similar examples, transforms the effects into ends, the causes into means, and the combination of the two into an adjustment of means to ends, or *design*.

21. Omnipresent design can proceed only from an omnipresent, personal intelligence.

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

### THE PRELUDE.—ROMANISTS AND THE COMMON SCHOOLS.

Is it safe to allow the Pope to govern primary schools in a free nation? Ask Spain. Ask Mexico. Ask the limping republics of South America. Ask Lower Canada, where I have myself been threatened with personal violence on the public highway for courteously asserting that I did not believe a priest could raise the dead. Ask the provinces of Southern Italy. Ask Ireland and her hedge schools. Ask Gladstone, as he bends over the work of writing the learned pages of his pamphlet on Vaticanism, and summons all history to testify that the education, to say nothing of the liberty of a people, is *not* safe under exclusively Romish auspices. Ask Prince Bismarck. At his fireside, in his palace at Varzin, he has a costly tapestry representing King Henry IV., in smock and barefoot, kneeling three days in the snow at the door of the palace of Pope Hildebrand, imploring absolution in vain, until his humiliation had been so protracted as to become what the Roman pontiff thought to be the proper symbol of the lowness of the civil power when set up over against the ecclesiastical. Ask Sicily and Sardinia whether it is safe to allow Jesuit control of popular education to run through many generations? Ask Pope Clement XIV., who in 1773 did his utmost to abolish the Jesuit order. Ask the long line of statesmen and rulers who expelled the Jesuits in 1507 from Venice, in 1708 from Holland, in 1764 from France, in 1767 from Spain, in 1820 from Russia, in 1829 from England, in 1872 from Germany, in 1873 from Italy. Ask the States of the Church under the shadow of St. Peter's, where at the time when Victor Emmanuel took possession of Rome only five per cent. of the population could read and write. What is the reply?

1. It is a stern historical truth that the Romish priests, when they have had their own way, never yet gave, in their parochial primary schools, instruction enough to fit a population for the duties and responsibilities of a free government.

Romish parochial schools, as tested by five centuries of their history, make no adequate provision for that public intelligence which is necessary to the permanence of republican institutions. Here is the fundamental indictment which history brings against exclusively Romish parochial schools for any people, whether under republican, monarchical or mixed institutions. The result has been to plunge the masses of the population into prolonged childhood, when the Romish ecclesiastical power has been set up over the civil. I might cite here documents to show what the theory of the Romish hierarchy is as to education. I might quote the *Syllabus*

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

of the Pope, of which all the clamour of ecclesiastics in every part of the world is only an echo. But I prefer higher evidence than official documents. I open the pages of the continents. I point to the spot where Romanism has had undisturbed power for centuries, and in the darkness which gathers upon them I find the proper warning for any republic which, like ours, has in it 6,000,000 or 8,000,000 of Romanists, over whom a foreign hierarchy asserts power. "What have you done?" I say to this hierarchy. I am not assailing the laity of the Romish Church; for I have great sympathy with their efforts to escape from the clutches of that historic power which has eclipsed the sun itself in the human soul, and the sun of modern civilization in so many fair portions of the globe. But I say to this hierarchy that they must stand before the bar of public opinion, and be judged by the outcome of their prolonged endeavours in Canada, in Mexico, in Ireland, in the States of the Church. A most careful statistician told me at Rome that when Victor Emmanuel took possession of the Seven Hills, the darkness of the population of the States of the Church in the matter of illiteracy was greater than the darkness of the population of Spain.

2. What Romanism has done abroad it wishes to do in the United States.

Incredible as it may appear, the assertions of Roman ecclesiastics to the effect that all authority in matters of education should be derived from the Pope, are not loose and idle phrases. They mean something in Spain; they mean something in Mexico. It is very hard for us to believe that they are anything more than the toothless bark of a dragon not invited as yet to our shores, and pushed away from the continent by the sharp weapons of all our patriotic and religious and educational associations. But this power is a unit in all the zones. It has but one head and one heart, and when the Papal Syllabus speaks every Roman ecclesiastic on the planet is bound to echo the doctrine of the Vatican.

3. What is the educational theory of the Romish Church on both sides of the sea?

(1.) That the Romish Church must take care of the children of Romish priests—parents I mean. (A silent pause followed this slip, and then an outburst of applause, twice repeated.) Bachelors are, indeed, dangerous men in the world. If celibate priests who clamour concerning the education of children were at the heads of families themselves, there would naturally be more sympathy on the part of the hierarchy, when it is honest, with the claim of parents that they be allowed the right of private judgment as to perhaps the most important thing that can concern the future of their children. Edmund Burke once said of an opponent in Parliament, "He has no child;" and so I, taking the hint from your acuteness, am glad to emphasize the searching inculcation of history that the rights of children are safe only in the hands of those who have families.

(2.) It is the European and also the American Romish theory that parochial schools should be established for every parish, and that when they are established parents have no right to send their children to other schools.

(3.) That, no matter how inferior the Romish parochial schools may be to their rivals, Roman parents have no right of private judgment as to which they shall patronize.

(4.) That Romish parents who refuse to send their children to Romish schools, and send them to the public schools, may be denied the sacraments—such as the rite of baptism, of marriage, and of burial according to the Romish forms.

Pardon me if I pause here to emphasize the terrific power of the confessional in the Romish Church over women, and over men of little education, brought up from their youth to believe that the Romish is the only infallible church, and

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

that out of it there is no salvation for the soul. There is a custom among the robbers of Italy requiring that when a new confederate is brought into a gang of thieves he shall load a pistol, hold it before a crucifix, and fire it at the figure of our Lord. It is supposed that whoever has the audacity to do that will not hesitate to take the life of child, spouse, or parent. Now, when education and a deep religious temperament, and much intercourse with ecclesiastics and none at all with their critics, fill a woman's soul with that beautiful flame of Catholic devotion which we revere so much in many Catholic works\*—when a woman with a heart like that of the author of that famous volume is asked to send her child to the parochial school, or else incur the anathemas of the priest whom she regards as the representative of a power at Rome really standing in God's place on earth, we find the woman's soul tested as that of the Italian thief is tested by the requisition to fire at the crucifix. Rather than do that, woman's heart will often flame up here in the United States and defend even a narrow Vatican hierarchy; and I shall not think less of the Romish laity if vast masses of them, with their past education, stand by the extreme doctrines of their priests. Those who have just been imported to our shores are under the control of the hierarchy. You are asking that all women shall have a vote on matters of education; and, for one, I endorse your earnestness in that particular, and am glad that Massachusetts has given to all women the right to vote on questions concerning education. But here are the multitudes of Sisters in the Romish Church. They are under the control of the hierarchy, and the question is whether we can safely widen female suffrage as long as the broadening of it in Roman Catholic female circles means little more than the enlargement of the power of the foreign priesthood. I think I am not altogether wild in standing on Edmund Burke's doctrine that wisdom can be attained only by experience in these large, novel matters, and that we cannot very accurately theorize in advance concerning the results of so radical a change as female suffrage. I am ready to try the experiment of woman's suffrage as to education and temperance. God speed all enterprises that seek for freedom to any woman to express herself as to the education of her children and the protection of her home; but I expect some difficulties that we do not now foresee, and one of them may burst out of the confessional. One of them may come up from the very depths of woman's soul, and show us how, under what she thinks a divine sanction, she can vote unflinchingly for the divine rights of the hierarchy.

(5.) It is a part of the doctrine of Rome, on both sides of the sea, that social ostracism may be inflicted on those who do not patronize the parochial schools and do patronize the public ones.

(6.) That the customers of such offenders may be advised, under penalty of church censure, not to patronize them in business.

(7.) That it is unjust for Romanists to be taxed for the support of public schools when they send no children to them.

(8.) That Romanists should have their *pro rata* part of the public school fund.

(9.) That the toleration of schools not under the control of the Romish Church is a sin on the part of civil government.

(10.) That it is a deadly error to deny that the Catholic religion should be the only religion of the state, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship.

That deadly error is recited here in the Syllabus of the Pope, a copy of which I hold in my hand. Abundance of evidence on that point can be had by any one

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\* "The Imitation of Christ" is a Catholic book read by all Protestants.

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

who will look at the excellent volume called, "The Papacy and the Civil Power," by Secretary Thompson, a member of the Cabinet at Washington.

(11.) That it is also a deadly error to hold that, in case of conflicting laws between the two powers, the civil law ought to prevail.

That is exactly the language of the Syllabus which condemned modern errors only a few years ago; and its results, of course.

(12.) That the final authority as to the methods of education belongs, not to the people of any town, state, or nation, nor to their elected representatives in Parliament or Congress, but fundamentally and exclusively to the Pope of Rome.

There is the head of this glittering reptile. Some of us, who do not follow up the chain of the characteristic Romish propositions until they really embrace the whole thought of the hierarchy, are amused at the rattle which forms the harmless portion of the viper. But when we trace up link after link, through the records of history, and the outcome of successive Romish institutions in country after country, we arrive at last at these final propositions, which constitute the very head of the rattle-snake—the doctrine that the Romish Church, where she has power, on either side of the sea, must not tolerate other forms of worship or education than her own. I hold before me the famous Syllabus of Pope Pius IX., and I read to you out of it a list of errors of civil society.

It is an error to hold that "in the case of conflicting laws between the two powers the civil law ought to prevail." \*

It is an error to hold that "the system of instructing youth, which consists in separating them from the Catholic faith and the power of the Church, and in teaching exclusively or, at least, primarily the knowledge of natural things and the earthly ends of social life alone, may be approved by Catholics." †

It is an error to hold that "in the present day it is no longer expedient that the Catholic religion shall be held as the only religion in the State, to the exclusion of all other modes of worship."

It is an error to hold that "it has been wisely provided by laws in some countries called Catholic that persons not Catholics who come to them should be allowed to enjoy the exercises of their own worship."

There is the head of the viper, and here in this historic edifice these extremest propositions of the Papal Syllabus (dropping the copy of the document upon the platform and placing a foot upon it) deserve no place except under the heel of American legislation.

What will be the mischiefs of allowing the practical adoption of the principles of the Papal Syllabus by the six or eight millions of the Romish population in the United States?

1. In teaching the necessity of the subjection of the civil to the ecclesiastical power, the Romish inculcations undermine the fundamental principles of republican institutions—that is, of local self-rule by the vote of the people, after intelligent discussion.

2. They interfere with civil law when social and business ostracism results from them.

In 1875, in the city of Holyoke, in the Connecticut Valley, a number of Romanists from the parish of Father Dufresne went to hear Father Chiniquy, a converted Romanist, give his reasons for his change of views. These parishioners

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\* Syllabus of 1864, Proposition 42. † Proposition 48. ‡ Proposition 78. See Pastoral Letter of Archbishop Spalding in Thompson on "The Papacy and the Civil Power," pp. 731-735.

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

of Father Dufresne were publicly and repeatedly called upon to confess, and one of them, named Joseph Parker, did not confess, and the priest advised his parishioners not to patronize his livery stable. Wherever the news has been heard, every patriotic heart in America has rejoiced that, after a full investigation of the case, Judge Bacon gave to the livery stable keeper, whose business was injured by the interference of this priest, damages to the amount of between 3,000 dollars and 4,000 dollars. Judge Bacon has declared that there is no church in the United States which can interfere with the business even of its excommunicated members, and through the non-patronage of its own members, without coming into collision with American civil law.

Our bill of rights in Massachusetts, thank God! is above the canon law of the Vatican! The Connecticut does not run into the Tiber, although one would think that the Mystic and the Charles do, if we may take as authority the statements of a bellicose priest across the bridges yonder. Everybody knows that Cambridgeport does not represent Boston. I shall make myself exceedingly unpopular; but, having often walked from Boston to Cambridge, I have ascertained that, although Cambridge itself is only three miles from Boston, and although Cambridgeport lies between Cambridge and Boston, the latter place is at least a thousand miles from Boston.

A Roman priest there, under the shadow of Bunker Hill, with his face turned toward the seven hills of Rome, gets inspiration in 1879 to face all American Protestant sentiment, and to glory in the opposition that the more intelligent of his parishioners have brought to bear on his scheme of forcing Romish parents to patronize his parochial school, now containing some 1,200 pupils. We have all read, of late—thanks to the skill of certain swift fingers now at work on the reporters' table below me—the audacious speech of this ecclesiastic, and his claim, not yet contradicted, that he is supported by his ecclesiastical superiors. This part of his attack on the American common school system is the one important portion of what he said to the public. I find no evidence whatever that his course is disapproved by the official organ of Romanism in this city; for not only are the facts carefully kept away from the public by this sheet, but a whole column is taken up by a document I have previously cited here, and in which the Romish propositions concerning the management of our educational institutions are defended with a mixture of earnestness and adroitness. At bottom that document bases itself on the Papal Syllabus, and deserves no other place than that which you gave to the Syllabus itself. I am willing to admit many of its propositions; but they are so skilfully interwoven with the Syllabus that whoever looks deeply into the heart of that official paper, written by the Very Reverend William Byrne, vicar-general of the Archdiocese of Boston, will find it only the echo of the Syllabus, and, at the last analysis, a justification of this audacious priest at Cambridgeport.

I am quite aware that there are different parties among American ecclesiastics, and that those born on our soil or who have long been here are not as extreme in their defence of Vaticanism as many who have just crossed the Atlantic. There are, I think, four Romish parties in this country—the parents, who, born on American soil, have learned American fashions as to the education of their children; and next the extreme priests, who defend Vaticanism without toleration; then a set of priests who are a passive middle party and who go with the strong element in all discussion; and then, lastly, there is a set of really intelligent and almost American priests, who try to found parochial schools modelled after the best plan of our own schools, the upper primaries and middle institutions

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

in the educational field. What I want to do is to sow dissension between that violent foreign portion of the priesthood representing extreme Vaticanism and the large moderate party supported by the more thoughtful American Romanists. Let the lower portion of the priesthood—that is, the sensible, conservative men in the ranks of the Roman hierarchy—join hands with these persecuted parents and bring about a protest on American soil against the inculcations of the extreme party in the hierarchy.

I know that behind the extreme party stands the Syllabus. I know that Jesuitism is loyal to Vaticanism. Loyal to it! The ruler of it, let us say. Baltimore weighs to-day in this discussion more than the whole scholarship of the land; and Baltimore is weighty only because the hand of the higher portion of the hierarchy presses it down upon the consciences of the Catholic laity, and because above that hand stands the power on the Tiber. The weight of the Pope is on the palm of that extreme hierarchy, and that palm is on the heart strings of the Catholic millions, now one in six of our population. Above the Pope himself, pressing him down to-day, as it has for a hundred years, is that omnipresent, unscrupulous power called Jesuitism, the fruits of which are seen in every country that it has manipulated for fifty or a hundred years.

The stern outlines of Mr. Gladstone's picture\* of the conflict of Romish principles with the duty of civil allegiance begin to be illuminated by American experience.

"Absolute obedience," he wrote in 1874, "it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not alone in faith, in morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and government of the Church. Thus are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of government, prevailing, though in different degrees, in every country of the world. Even in the United States, where the severance between church and state is supposed to be complete, a long catalogue might be drawn of subjects belonging to the domain and competency of the state, but also undeniably affecting the government of the Church; such as, by way of example, marriage, burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor-relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy and obedience. In Europe the circle is far wider; the points of contact and of interlacing almost innumerable. But in all matters respecting which any pope may think proper to declare that they concern either faith, or morals, or the government or discipline of the Church he claims, with the approval of a council undoubtedly œcumenical in the Roman sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of salvation, of every member of his communion."

3. Parochial schools provide no adequate safeguard against ignorance in the Romish population.

4. They tend to make the United States what Spain, Mexico, Italy, Ireland, and other exclusively Catholic countries are in respect to popular intelligence.

5. They may result in a division of the school fund and in the founding of state sectarian institutions.

6. The formation of state sectarian schools would convert the appliances of education into the means of proselytizing, intensify religious clannishness, and give all education, both secular and religious, a sectarian bias from the first. Such sectarian schools are to be resisted, because they would give no sufficient assurance of a good education in the common branches of study for all the children of the state. The division of the public funds among the numberless sects of the

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\* "The Vatican Decrees," p. 48

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

country would destroy the efficiency of the school system and include many of the historic evils of the connection of church and state.

Finally, let me ask what are the remedies for Romish aggression on the American system of public schools?

1. We must adhere to the present constitution of Massachusetts, and refuse to divide the school fund among sectarian educational institutions.

2. We must execute the civil law against priests who attack the social reputation of the business of Romanists who do not submit to the priestly demand for a monopoly of the teaching of Romish children.

We must give Judge Bacon's decision such support that it may become the law of the country from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate.

3. We must teach in the common schools, in an unsectarian way, the broad, undisputed principles of morals and religion as to which good men agree, and thus stop the mouths of those who say that the American common school may be justly called godless.

4. We must urge intelligent Roman laymen to withdraw from the support of the educational positions of a foreign priesthood.

It is said, concerning this ecclesiastic who has attracted public attention at Cambridgeport, that he was a chaplain in the war, and was much opposed to gambling among the soldiers whom he had in charge. I do not blame him for his earnestness on that point, but his methods of carrying out his ideas were certainly peculiar. He burst, one day, into a tent where officers and soldiers were engaged in a game, and where the stakes happened to be 9 dols. 75 c. He seized them, put them in his breast, and, according to the anecdote which I read in a public print, and for the accuracy of which I am not responsible, he exclaimed:—"There are the stakes, and there they will stay!" A few weeks later a contribution was taken for the chaplain. He was told the amount of it, and then 9 dols. 75 c. were abstracted by a certain officer who was to deliver the amount to him. The priest counted the money, and turned sharply upon the officer and said: "Where is the 9 dols. 75 c.?" The officer put his hand solemnly in his breast and said: "There are the stakes, and there they will stay!" Let Romish laymen refuse their financial support to extreme Vaticanism, and it will be found that the power that governs the purse will ultimately govern the school.

In the sixteenth century most of the Romanists in England were marshalled against the Armada. In the seventeenth, in despite of the Papal chair, they sat in the House of Lords under the oath of allegiance.\*

5. We must labour for the reformation of the Roman hierarchy itself, as to its educational pretensions, by causing their overwhelming defeat on the bulwark of the American system of free, unsectarian public schools.

6. We are to experiment with great reluctance and caution in the line of European customs, recommended to us subtly now from many quarters, in the name of Belgium and Holland, as to combine literary and moral and separate religious instruction in the same schools.

There was an hour when the question of most political and religious consequence in the Old World was whether Prussia, a Protestant kingdom, should be allowed to grow strong in the heart of Catholic Europe. All the Romish powers were leagued against Frederick the Great, and in a ring of fire he defended the cause of Protestantism, then in its youth on that continent. In the same great

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\* Gladstone, "The Vatican Decrees."



## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

historic period, the supreme question on this continent was whether the Mississippi Valley, and, indeed, all North America should be settled under Protestant or Romish auspices. A French armament of forty ships of war, under the Duc D'Anville, set sail in 1746 from Nova Scotia to effect the destruction of the Protestant colonies of New England. Our fathers, feeling that their only safety was in God, appointed a day of fasting and prayer in all their churches. Thomas Prince, a pastor of a church, gathered under this roof, stood up on this very spot and offered petitions to the Almighty that His providence might fight against absolutism, ignorance, and all kinds of political and ecclesiastical tyranny. As the prayer was being offered, there arose a powerful wind, although the day until then, had been perfectly clear and calm. The shutters of this house, so history says, were shaken by a mighty seaward movement of the atmosphere, and the petitioner, pausing in his prayer, looked around upon the audience with a countenance of hope, and again commenced, and with great devotional ardour supplicated providence to cause that wind to frustrate the object of our enemies and save the country from conquest.

A tempest followed in which the greater part of the French fleet was wrecked on the coast of Nova Scotia. The Duc D'Anville and his second in command committed suicide. Only a feeble remnant of the expedition survived. The enterprise was abandoned and never resumed. \* Whether this was, as President Dwight thought, a direct answer to prayer, I cannot undertake to affirm. But this I do say: that when Vaticanism is a terror to armed and cultured Germany, and to England, with her solidified institutions; and when in this country there is a foreign priesthood fighting for the supremacy of Vaticanism, the time has come for the old prayer of our fathers to be lifted up again, and for public sentiment to shake once more the land and the sea in the defence of Protestantism.

### THE LECTURE.

EMERSON, whose eyes will soon behold the unseen holy, looks out upon this low earth and sings:

“Ever fresh the broad creation,  
A divine improvisation.  
From the heart of God proceeds,  
A single will, a million deeds.  
Silent rushes the swift Lord  
Through ruined systems still restored.  
Broad-sowing, bleak and void to bliss,  
Plants with worlds the wilderness.”

He teaches that magnetism is of more importance than the needles, and that the wind is to be adored rather than the various Æolian harps of human individualities through which the Divine Spirit passes. “I am for the magnetism, and not for the needles,” is his exclamation; “for the wind, and not for the harps.” Communion with God

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\* See President Dwight's “Theology,” Vol. V. p. 41; also “The History of the Old South Church in Boston,” by Rev. B. B. Wisner, pastor of the Church, 1830, p. 30.

### *FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.*

in Nature is supposed to be the fascination of Pantheism. The history of that system of thought in its applications to literature shows what deep echoes its doctrines awaken in the hearts even of those who have learned but a little of the glory of the unseen, as visible through the seen. Carlyle's open secret is that God is omnipresent in Nature. Richter's most glorious passages, Mrs. Browning's and Tennyson's, all turn on fellowship with God in Nature. We are fascinated with modern literature chiefly because there shines through it the glorious light of the Sun behind the sun ; the rising doctrine of God's immanence in natural law.

It is possible to hold that doctrine of divine immanency in a pantheistic form or a theistic ; but I am not now to pause to show the dangers of the doctrine of the divine immanency, unless you match it, as Richter did, as Tennyson and Carlyle do, as Kant did, with the doctrine of the divine transcendency. God is in all natural law, and yet He is more than natural law ; He is omnipresent in all the forces of His creation, and yet He is more than the creation. Assert the divine immanency as much as you please, teach idealistic theism, if you care to do so — although I cannot defend that doctrine — and you will find at last that the charm of pantheism is not in pantheism, but in the doctrine of the divine omnipresence ; not in the idea that God is all and that what we call Nature is all God, but in the idea of the divine indwelling in the forces of Nature by which we are beset from life to death and in this world and in the next. It had been my purpose to lead to-day to Niagara and the Yosemite, and to the heights of Lebanon, and to the Parthenon at midnight ; but I must throw away illustration, in order to emphasize principles.

1. Communion with God in Nature must be the communion with the highest in Nature.

2. The highest in me is conscience.

3. The highest in history is Christ.

4. The power which governs the universe does bring forth results like these, and I cannot have fellowship with Him unless I have fellowship with them.

5. Mere poetic communion with Nature is not full fellowship with God. The open secret, the mere literature of the doctrine of the divine immanency as power and beauty in Nature, is swallowed up in the deeper secret of ethics, or the immanency of God as the power not ourselves that works for righteousness in Nature.

6. The whole, not a part, is the demand of theism. The entire outcome of God in Nature we must take into fellowship, or we have no fellowship with the God who is behind the outcome.

*FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.*

Adopting this principle, and standing here in my solitude and listening to the best modern thought, to what results must I come?

7. One of the laws of Nature is the ascent of life.

From matter in the clod up to the human brain, the manifestation of life has been lifted through various grades of organization. If anything is certain from mere observation of past geological history, it is that life has a law by which it ascends from lower to higher forms. This has been the history of geological ages thus far, and when I open Prof. Dana himself—cool, cautious critic as he is—I find him closing his inquiries as to man by the question whether a species higher than man may not yet arrive on the planet.

Prof. Dana, Hugh Miller, all reverent geologists teach us that in each geological age there was a premonition of a higher age to come, and that long before man appeared certain parts of animals preceding him predicted his perfect frame. The gradual heightening of the capacity of instinct predicted reason and human choice and emotion. Thus in every geological age there has been a promise of something higher; and here in my solitude I dare raise the question, audacious as you think it, whether man is really the summit of creation.

8. Another law of Nature is the non-recurrence of the reign of once outgrown lower forms of life.

9. Another is the individualization of life in higher and higher forms.

We do not find in past geological ages that multitudes of organizations have been created with powers vastly differing from those of their ancestors; but that some individual, differentiated by a happy environment, if you choose to employ scientific language, has been the commencement of a new era. With superior endowments given him, under the law of the survival of the fittest—in which I believe in certain of its applications, yet not in its materialistic sense—this individual becomes the founder of a new era of life. It has been the law of Nature through immemorial geological ages to produce higher and higher works, through the individualization of life in higher and higher forms. That law, which has been exhibited through so many past ages, has it been entirely abandoned in the present management of the world?

10. Under this law of the ascent of life, and the other law of the individualization of life in higher forms, conscience in man has appeared.

11. Under these two laws of the ascent of life and the individualization of life in higher and higher forms, not only has conscience in man appeared, but the Christ in history has also appeared.

## FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

12. The human nature of Christ may, therefore, so far forth as it is human, be considered the outcome of the law of the ascent of life, and of the individualization of life in higher and higher forms.

13. *The Incarnation is the culmination of the Creation.*

That thought is not altogether familiar to American theology, but I think it entirely harmonious with the Holy Scriptures. It is certainly very familiar to German theology, and I believe the time has come for emphasizing the great truth which throws into rapture men like Dorner and his associates in Berlin, men like Kahnis and his associates at Leipsic, the central, the scientific, and Biblical idea that the Incarnation, under the law of the ascent of life, and the individualization of higher and higher forms of spiritual existence, is the culmination of the Creation.\*

Hugh Miller, in a passage of great eloquence and suggestiveness, brings to the front in geology itself the thought which many German scholars place in foreground of theology:—

“In the history of the earth which we inhabit, molluscs, fishes, reptiles, mammals, had each in succession their periods of vast duration; and then the human period began—the period of a fellow-worker with God, created in God’s own image. What is to be the next advance? Is there to be merely a repetition of the past? an introduction a second time of man made in the image of God? No. The geologist in those tables of stone which form his records *finds no example of dynasties once passed away again returning*. There has been no repetition of the dynasty of the fish, of the reptile, of the mammal. The dynasty of the future is to have glorified man for its inhabitant; but it is to be the dynasty—“the kingdom”—not of glorified man made in the image of God, but of God Himself in the form of man. In the doctrine of the two conjoined natures, human and divine, and in the further doctrine that the terminal dynasty is to be peculiarly the dynasty of Him in whom the natures are united, we find that required progression beyond which progress cannot go. We find the point of elevation never to be exceeded meetly coincident with the final period never to be terminated; the infinite in height harmoniously associated with the eternal in duration. *Creation and the Creator meet at one point and in one Person*. The long ascending line from dead matter to man has been a progress Godward—not an asymptotical progress, but destined from the beginning to furnish a point of union; and occupying that point as true God and true man, as Creator and created, we recognise the adorable Monarch of all the future!”

Christ is the real type of man, and God’s work in creation was not done until that type was produced. “He was the first-born among many brethren.” He was the commencement of a new order of those

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\* See Dorner, “The Person of Christ,” last volume; also Newman Smyth, “Old Faiths in a New Light.”

*FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.*

in whom God dwells. I am not asserting at all the doctrine of humanitarianism. I am emphasizing only that one side of the doctrine of the Incarnation which shows how the man in Christ came into existence under the law of the ascent of life and the individualization of life. God was in Him and He was God; and yet there is a sense in which He was the first-born among many brethren. As a man He was born under that very Nature with which you profess to wish communion.

Poetry indeed! There is more in Nature than is dreamed of in our philosophy. Our sweet singers, our mellow, copious essayists, our Matthew Arnolds, even our Emersons are not sufficiently in earnest, I think, to penetrate to those serene central depths of the Nature with which they purpose to have fellowship. You and I here with the fathers, you and I face to face with scientific research in all ages, you and I here on our knees before God, know that when we seek fellowship with Nature we must have fellowship with the higher outcomes of it—that is, with conscience at its best, and with the Christ who, whatever else you think of Him, is assuredly the highest in history.

To my sweet, surprising friends, who think liberalism is little more than good literature, and that good literature must be good liberalism, I would that a stern use of the scientific method might communicate earnestness ready to go to the depths of modern philosophy and find in Nature its highest outcomes, and ask communion with this. Until you are in that attitude you are not loyal to the scientific method and not abreast of modern thought.

14. With this ascending movement of Nature I must keep step, if I am to have fellowship with God in Nature.

This poor phrase, almost the cant of literature—fellowship with God in Nature, poetic aspiration—has, when fathomed, a signification which blanches the cheeks.

15. By some definitions Nature includes "all that is." \*

16. If it includes all that is, it includes what science calls the nature of things.

17. In the very nature of things I cannot have peace with conscience, the highest outcome or development in man, nor with the Christ, the highest outcome or development in history, until I love what they love and hate what they hate.

18. The nature of things is revealed by the highest in Nature—that is, by conscience and by the Christ and the law of the ascent of life.

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\* Prof. Huxley's "Hume."

### FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD IN NATURE.

19. In the very nature of things, I cannot have peace in a universe managed as it ought to be until I am free from the love of what ought not to be.

The weightiest word in the universe, except God's own name, is this single syllable *ought*, and the weight of the latter comes from the presence in it of the former.

20. In the nature of things, I cannot be at peace until I am free from both the love of sin and the guilt of sin.

21. In the nature of things, therefore, fellowship with God in Nature cannot be attained by the human soul until it is free from the love of sin and the guilt of sin.

22. The soul, neither here nor hereafter, can escape from the besetting omnipresence of the laws of the nature of things.

23. Fellowship with God must be fellowship with the unescapable nature of things, for IT IS HE.

Fellowship with God in Nature! When shall we understand the fulness of this phrase? The mere liberalistic poetic interpretation of Nature! how lightly it touches the mere surface of this depth. The desert will blossom as the rose if only the central principle, communion with Nature, be taken in earnest; if only fellowship with God in nature be regarded with intellectual seriousness and pushed out to its moral consequences. I am appealing to men who care nothing for my positions; but I care for some of theirs, and I ask what their principles lead to when contemplated face to face, not with Niagara or the Yosemite, not with Lebanon or the Acropolis, but with Death and the unseen, into which all men haste, or with that hill yonder at Jerusalem, on which the Lord's prayer was taught, or that other height, loftiest in human history, whatever else you say of it, where the prayer was offered: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do," and where the mysterious statement was made, outcome of the nature of things, "It is finished." The highest we must commune with, or we have no communion with God, but only surface touches of Him, which may be rebellious, after all. Thomas Carlyle seems to penetrate to the inner heart of poetry by penetrating to the heart of ethics. "The everlasting yea"—that only is peace, is the teaching of "*Sartor Resartus*." But how much does this yea, when fully fathomed, mean? The only adequate or scientific answer is in the Scriptural words, "In Him was yea." The only surrender which gives peace is an Eternal Yea to the law of the ascent of life, with its outcome, the conscience and the Christ.

*THE ASCENT OF LIFE; OR, THE INCARNATION THE  
CULMINATION OF THE CREATION—MAN AT HIS  
CLIMAX.*

THE PRELUDE.—A DISCUSSION OF THE NEGRO EXODUS.

A DEFENCE of the freedman's right to leave the South must not be construed as a denial of his right to stay there in peace. Frederick Douglass opposes the Negro exodus, and his controlling reason for doing so is that he fears public sentiment will accept this emigration as a substitute for the execution of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution. The Negro race in general is not represented by Mr. Douglass's opinions on this point; and, indeed, the great orator and reformer is somewhat unpopular with the freedmen refugees on account of his position concerning the exodus. William Lloyd Garrison earnestly favoured the movement; and in this he agreed with the freedmen themselves and with the governors and a hundred philanthropic cities and the emphatic Christian sentiment of the Northern States. I think the disgust at Mr. Douglass's opinions is not justifiable, and that his opinions themselves are also not to be justified; for I hold,

1. That the Southern question will not be solved until the constitutional provisions guaranteeing equal rights are peacefully executed in every state of the Union.

2. That the Negro exodus is in no sense to be accepted as a substitute for the fulfilment of the national obligations by which the Government is held and firmly bound to protect every American citizen, of whatever colour, upon any and every part of the American domain.

3. That the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution of the United States are not executed in large tracts of the Southern States, and that so far forth Congress fails to guarantee in portions of the South a republican form of government.

4. That to this failure we owe the dropping out of political existence of 400,000 votes in the eleven late rebel states—not merely their transference from one party to another, but their failure to appear at all in the records of elections; and on account of this failure we have had the seating in Congress of a body of Confederate politicians, who are supported by the majority in the House, and whose avowed purpose is the repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments.

5. That no political party or administration deserves support which does not execute the Constitution, and especially the amendments which embody the chief results of the war.

So many of the propositions which I defend concerning the Negro exodus as I have now put before you have a merely negative character; but it is very essential to discuss this question, both negatively and affirmatively, unless you

## THE ASCENT OF LIFE.

would fall into an utterly unbalanced and mischievous view of the whole complex theme. I find many philanthropic meetings, some of which have been held in Boston, failing to emphasize the duty of our political parties concerning these constitutional amendments, and, in their eagerness to befriend the refugees from the South, forgetting the extraordinary carelessness of the North, and the blistering political shame of the poor execution of these great enactments. We seem yet to be living under the impression that we have no right to interfere for the protection of freedmen or any others whose civil rights are trampled on in the late rebel domain. A Boston meeting in Faneuil Hall, last April, cited plaintive words from President Hayes: "I do care for the poor coloured men of the South. Under the new régime, Northern men cannot live there and will leave. I do pity the poor black men. The result will be that Southern Democrats will come into power, and then the coloured man's fate will be worse than when he was in slavery, with a humane master to look after his interests." Has this complaining Executive used all his power to protect the constitutional privileges of the freedmen? A very serious portion of the nation thinks he has not. State rights do not bar out Congress from the work of protecting the civil rights of the freedmen. The best criticism of the inertness of Congress in that great business is a recitation of the language of the Fifteenth Amendment: "The right of citizens of the United States to vote, shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any state, on account of race, colour, or previous condition of servitude. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." How is it that this great lightning-bolt of the Constitution has been arrested while in mid-air, and rendered harmless?

When I turn to the notorious facts of current political history, I find that in 1872 there were cast in a fair election in the eleven rebel states 759,000 Republican and 650,000 Democratic votes. The election of 1872 was a sublime spectacle. A million and a quarter of voters in a territory that had never known freedom politically came to the polls and expressed themselves with entire liberty. The result was a great reinforcement of the doctrines of the North in the war. The country has been growing in the seven years that have passed since that remarkable election; but in recent elections we find such a falling off of the number of votes that it is a statement of General Garfield, for instance, of Ohio (he has made it in Congress and emphasized it before the people repeatedly), that in the late rebel states four hundred thousand votes have dropped out of existence and disappeared from the face of the earth. For example, in the State of Mississippi, at the congressional election of 1872, there were thrown 80,000 Republican votes and 40,000 Democratic votes. That was a fair test of the strength of the two parties. Six years passed, and in 1878 there were 2,056 Republican votes and 35,900 Democratic. They had fallen off 78,000. Where had the 78,000 voters gone? General Garfield, knowing that he will be called to account for every word he utters, replies: "The rebel army without uniforms organized itself as Democratic clubs in Mississippi, and, armed with shot-guns and rifles, surrounded the houses of Republican voters"—many of them Negroes—and "with the muzzles of their guns at their heads in the night said: 'You come out and vote if you dare. We will kill you when you come.' In a district in Mississippi where, in 1872, 15,000 Republican and 8,000 Democratic votes were thrown, there was but 4,000 polled for a rebel general, and twelve scattering votes for other people. Not one Republican vote put into the box in all the district. It was so in Alabama. So it was in Louisiana, in part. It was so too in the two Carolinas." Well-known congressional documents confirm these assertions.



## THE ASCENT OF LIFE; OR,

The result was that 400,000 voters were substantially annihilated, and that to-day, according to the belief of most Northern men, and the express assertion of congress men like General Garfield and Senator Chandler, there are in Congress thirty members "not one of whom has any more right to sit there and make laws for you and me than an inhabitant of a jail has a right to go there and make laws for us." \* General Garfield often made these assertions in Ohio, in the recent campaign, and said: "I know that I am talking plainly; but I expect these words to be read by every gentleman in Congress whom I am to-night denouncing. I expect to meet these gentlemen and make good every word I say."

God be thanked that these freedmen cannot be struck without the North itself feeling the blow, for the blow is both at the freedmen and the North.

There is no possibility of a balanced view of the Negro exodus without an apparently conflicting arrangement of propositions. You are to defend the Negro in the South, and at the same time you are to defend his right to leave the South. I am a friend of the Negro exodus; but, at the same time, a friend of the constitutional amendments protecting the freedman's rights where he is. The Negro has soaked the former slave states with his sweat and blood. The freedman has a hundred times the right to stay there that any idle white man has.

So far as politics are concerned, the North, by its indifference, is the chief cause of the Negro exodus. But the freedmen, made free by our own national act, are coming North by thousands, into the snow. And what shall we do with them? These remaining propositions must be set over against the others if the whole case is to be kept before the mind:

6. That the chief causes of the Negro emigration from the South are extortion, pauperization, practical disfranchisement, shot-gun rebel politics, and not infrequent political murders.

7. That, if the early emigrants succeed in establishing self-supporting homes, the emigration of hundreds of thousands is likely to follow.

8. That, if the early emigrants do not succeed, the millions who remain behind may suffer for years the evils from which they now flee.

9. That the exodus will, therefore, make great demands on the earlier emigrants for courage, energy, sobriety, and industry.

10. That, if these virtues are exhibited by the earlier emigrants, the thousands who go will protect the millions who stay, and the emigration necessitate a better observance of the Constitution by the South, and so assist greatly in the solution of one of the darkest problems of American civilization.

11. That, therefore, the people of Kansas and other States, to which the exodus is or shall yet be directed, deserve the abundant financial and moral support of the nation in the exigencies of charity which the Negro emigration has created.

On the day when it was announced to the nation that William Lloyd Garrison was no more among mortals, it was my fortune to stand before a great audience in Topeka, in the city park on the bank of the Kansas River, and address a company of refugees gathered in front of the assembly. Governor St. John presided, and made a most thoughtful and cordial speech to the freedmen. Before this audience came together I had spent many hours in cross-examining individuals from among the refugees, and I now hold in my hands the copious notes made in their presence and used afterwards in the open-air address.

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\* General Garfield's speech at Cleveland, Ohio, October 10th, 1879. See the *Cleveland Leader*, October 13th.

## *THE INCARNATION THE CULMINATION OF THE CREATION.*

I met fourteen refugees in a private room of the Kansas Freeman's Aid Society, and, at the request of its secretary, Mr. Hibbard, each one stood up and told his story, and was cross-examined. Most of them were from Mississippi. Only three of the fourteen could read. Eleven were church members. We found no one who expected land or a mule to be given him without some return on his part. There was a singular absence of fanatical feeling in these field-hands, fresh from the hoe-handle. They wanted to own land. They desired to be able to vote without any danger from horse-pistols.

"Why did you come North?" I asked one, and his instant reply was in exactly these words: "To try and get some land, and make a man of myself, and be a citizen." "We shall have trials," said another, "but they will not be as bad as we have had in the South." "Not a third have started of those who wish to come." "We shall never go back while the sun hangs in the sky." Great pains were taken by Mr. Hibbard and myself that the questions put should be understood, and the replies were written down on the spot.

All were agreed that the condition of the Negro, as to danger to life, is worse now than in the days of slavery. They thought that five cents here were worth more than a dollar in the South. They were all of opinion that the exodus will be far larger in January and next spring than now. They all told the same story of starvation wages and extortionate prices in the South. When I asked how many of them feared the climate in the North, they all held up their hands to indorse the opinion that, as Negroes, in Canada, simply by the use of extra clothing and fire, have successfully coped with the northern temperature, so in Kansas they can do the same. They were most of them in need of clothing, and without means to buy food, unless they could get work; but not one of them expressed a desire to return.

Gov. St. John told me that one of the most aged of the refugees he had met was brought one day into the Governor's office by one of the agents of the Relief Association, and seemed very much dazzled to find himself in this official presence. But the Governor was a man of great simplicity of manner, and he said to him: "Thomas, is your wife with you?" "Yes. Hannah is here." "Are your children with you?" "Yes. Hannah is here and the children." "Have you anything to do?" "No work yet." "Have you had enough to eat?" The Negro hesitated, and finally said, "Hannah and I haven't had our meals regular; but we have managed to get enough for the children." "Well, now," said the Governor, "here are Hannah and the children, and here you are, hungry at this moment. The children may not have enough to eat to-morrow. You are an aged man. You may not find regular work. There is a winter before you. Nobody knows how far charity can go to aid you in this state. You are likely to see hard times. If I would give you personally money to go back, would you not take Hannah and the children and return?" "Governor," said the Negro, suddenly losing his diffidence and holding himself erect, "you may take me and Hannah and the children into the Fair Ground yonder, and make us stand in a row on the grass, and shoot us down, and we will bear that rather than go back." Gov. St. John personally assured me that in scores of cases he had had conversations exhibiting a spirit similar to this in the refugees. Precisely this was the spirit I found among the freedmen I cross-examined. Sixteen of us knelt down together on the soil of Kansas and offered prayer to Almighty God to deliver the freedmen yet in bondage, and our souls told us that the prayer was not unavailing.

## THE ASCENT OF LIFE; OR,

After the private cross-examination of fourteen refugees, it was my fortune to cross-examine some sixty publicly, in the afternoon open-air assembly in the park. Quoting from the ordinary business pass-books and receipts brought North by the refugees, examples of extortionate prices, I was often interrupted by the freedmen with the words "More than that!" or "It was worse!" This was their response when I cited pork as sold to the Negro for thirty cents, when at St. Louis it was worth five; and meal at three cents, when you can buy it at St. Louis for one cent; and molasses at one dollar, when it cost in New Orleans only thirty cents.

When I asked how many of the freedmen in the audience felt that their lives were as safe in the South to-day as they were when a Negro was worth eight hundred, or a thousand, or fifteen hundred dollars as a labourer, the hands indicated that the whole group of refugees felt their lives more unsafe to-day than they were in the times of slavery. "How many of you were slaves?" Up went sixty hands. "How many can read?" Up went only ten or a dozen. "How many think the Negro now is in greater danger of losing his life than when he was a slave?" Up went sixty hands. "How many would go back?" No hands raised. "How many think the emigration will grow larger when your contracts end, near Christmas, and the New Year's Day comes?" Every hand went up. "How many want land?" All hands went up. "How many think you can bear the climate?" All hands were raised. Land is often rented to freedmen for ten dollars an acre which would not sell for five. Two hundred or three hundred per cent profit is made off the freedmen in nearly every case in Mississippi, and elsewhere on the Gulf. Extortion alone would be a sufficient reason for the emigration of the intelligent portion of the freedmen from the South. When you put extortion with political intimidation and not infrequent assassination, who can wonder at the escape-valve being opened?

On that Sabbath at Topeka, under those trees, which had echoed to the sounds of the Kansas border wars, and looking up into the sky which had just received the spirit of your great Boston prophet, I, for one, took a resolution to stand by the constitutional amendments and the emigrating freedmen. It is hard to defend both positions and not seem to cancel your own opinions. But this topic is a circle, and he who defends the Constitution and assails any political party that does not support these amendments, has a perfect right to turn around, and on the other side of the circle call for contributions to the Kansas Emigration Aid Society. I want the Negro exodus to be not exactly a deluge, but certainly an escape-valve. So thoroughly am I convinced that the South, after all, must be the home of the vast majority of the coloured race that I will not give up for an instant the claim that they have a right to stay there, and that ultimately it may be financially profitable for them to remain there. They are the right arm of the South, and when that arm begins to weaken the South will understand how strong is the Lord God who judgeth her. And, possibly, in the better days of a near future, the South may be herself a little intimidated by the loss of her commercial strength, and do justice to the Negro; and if she does, my advice to the Negro will be to stay among the cotton-blooms, and not go into the snow-banks. Meanwhile, I affirm that Kansas has done more than nobly for the whole nation in opening her great fields to this emigration, and that we have acted only too penuriously concerning the exigencies of that state when we have sent there hardly anything but old clothes and so little money. I stood in the rooms of the Freedmen's Emigration Society, and saw stacks of clothing that could not be used. "I could tell you many a secret," said the secretary. "We very often

## *THE INCARNATION THE CULMINATION OF THE CREATION.*

receive things we do not want, simply because they cost little. Let us have money, and we can go at once to the point with as little expense as possible, and put the emigration into the right condition from the outset. Our delays have cost us not a little money; but they have been necessitated by the character of the things sent to us." This is the eve of Thanksgiving, and here are singers, many of whom were once slaves. Their voices have charmed several nations. The indescribable pathos of their wild, plaintive melodies I wish to use as an appeal to you, who are soon to sit at your own firesides, to aid the persecuted emigrant freedmen who have not where to lay their heads. I would that on this day, in this historic edifice, the memories of Sumner and of Garrison which float about us, and all the sacred associations we have with the civil war, might inspirit us to send our utmost contributions to Kansas, to Indiana, to any States that are open to this exodus, and at the same time to resolve that no political party which neglects the execution of the constitutional amendments shall succeed by our support.

### THE LECTURE.

CHRIST is man at his climax. Scepticism gives up in all serious circles the claim that the founder of Christianity was a mythological personage.\* The mythical theory has been so completely exploded by the discussions of the last quarter of a century that we now are all agreed, so far as we are in earnest, that one human personality has appeared without sin, or at least, without any such facts in His career that we are able to prove sin against the character. That is the stupendous outcome of modern criticism, and if the world of thought could be united in the admission of the sinlessness of Christ, immense ethical conclusions would at once become the property of all intellectual circles; for this sinless character exhibits man at his climax, and it must be that, if we are to have peace at all with our own natures, from which we never can escape while we continue to exist, we must have peace with that ideal of character which was sinless. You say these thoughts go far beyond the ordinary range of transcendental literature. Well, I must admit that when I am in my serious solitude before God, the charm of mere literature is not altogether persuasive and satisfying, however fascinating it may have been in my more frivolous secular mood. George Eliot says, you know, that "even a water nixie's soul has a certain charm until it becomes didactic." And I may say the same of Boston, or London, or Berlin literature simply as such, when taken as a guide of the soul face to face with the question how it can have peace in the environment of natural law. Concord and Weimar are water nixies which have a certain charm until they become didactic.

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\* See "Enevc. Brit.," Art. Apologetics..

### *THE ASCENT OF LIFE; OR,*

1. It is a truth of science that man's nature is to be understood not by what man is in his beginning, but by what he is at his climax.

2. It is a truth of revelation that, when God said, "Let us make man in our image," His thought was pointing not to man at his beginning, but to man at his climax.

3. It is a truth of science that conscience requires man's sinlessness in the present life.\*

This is really the dictate of the moral law under which we live, and, however poorly man may obey these divine behests of Nature around him, science of the ethical sort is able to prove that the whisper from above never says: Be less than perfect. Take satisfaction in something that is not sinless. You ought to be right, is the dictate of the moral law; not, You ought to be nearly right. There is no whisper of commonplace and compromise out of the ranges of moral truth as interpreted by mere science.

4. This unfulfilled demand of Nature in the laws by which we are environed would lead us to suppose that man at his present state is not man at his climax.

Somewhere and somehow we must be brought into harmony with those laws which require our perfection; otherwise we are a portion of creation not in harmony with the other portions. A race of beings not harmonized with their consciences evidently belong to an unfinished world. We are in various ways bunglingly made, if the best we can do with ourselves is to limp through time while we listen to the earnest commands from the moral laws requiring us not to limp.

5. Only one character in history has attained sinlessness.

6. That character, therefore, and that only, exhibits man at the climax required by conscience for his harmonization with the laws of his own nature.

You say that these stern considerations are drawn from revelation: Well, but you can shut up the Bible, and natural moral laws would require us to harmonize ourselves with man at his climax. If there were no Bible, but simply the record of one sinless character, and if we had proof of the authenticity of that record, we should be obliged to say that the appearance of such a character in history was a part of the plan of the world.

7. Our harmonization with the law of the ascent of life and its individualization in loftier and loftier forms requires our harmonization with that character which represents man at his climax.

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\* See Matheson, "Aids to the Study of German Theology," pp. 47, 48.

*THE INCARNATION THE CULMINATION OF THE CREATION.*

I am not anxious to preach orthodoxy, unless I find orthodoxy in the very nature of things; but the terrible circumstance is that, when I become thoroughly serious in the use of the scientific method, Nature has a fearfully orthodox look. She is no water nixie. She does not lose her charm when she becomes didactic. She has a right to speak. She means that we shall come into harmony with the highest in herself, and her highest outcome is conscience in man and the Christ in history.

8. That character was from the first what all men ought to have been from the beginning.

9. The incarnation in which that character appeared was, therefore, the culmination of the creation.

10. What God does He from the first intends.

11. This character, therefore, or man at his climax, was not only the goal of creation, but also its beginning; for in the execution of a plan, that which is last in realization is first in the thought of the one who executes the purpose.

When, in the construction of a drama, a certain conclusion is foreseen, everything is adapted to the outcome from the very first; a final effect is proposed; and, therefore, you may say that the final thing is the first thing in the drama. When you construct complicated machinery for a given purpose, the purpose is the first thing in the thought, although the last thing in execution.

12. Christ, therefore, while above humanity, is in the strict sense the only true man, the archetype of human nature, the pattern after whose image and likeness the human race is fashioned.

We thus reach a transcendent conclusion, and reach it on scientific grounds purely; reach it on ground of common admissions among serious men; reach it on ground not exclusively occupied by those who belong to the advanced philosophical or Christian school, but by the average serious opinion in the circles of the best culture.

13. Harmonization with the demands of the nature of man at his climax, therefore, will be attained by culture only by harmonization with the Christ, who is man at his climax.

14. There is a God in conscience, even when man is not yet at his climax.

15. Much more is there a God in Christ, who is man at his climax.

16. The fellowship of the soul with Nature requires demonstrably, therefore, our harmonization with both the God in conscience and the God in Christ.

### THE ASCENT OF LIFE; OR,

Proceeding across fields of thought a little novel, I am, perhaps, somewhat alarming those who would be glad to accuse me of teaching humanitarianism. I hold, as you have had reason to believe, the doctrine of the Trinity, in its clear sharp statement. I am not responsible for all the popular definitions of the Trinity. As I hold the divine unity, I hold the divine trinity—not the divine triplicity. I believe in God's unity as thoroughly as in His trinity; but I am not asking you now to enter into the mysteries of that vast theme. I ask you only to admit the general conclusion of historical research—that one character has appeared in history of which we can say, with Rousseau, that his death was the death of a god. Socrates, Rousseau thought, died like a man; but even Rousseau could admit that no one had proved sin against Christ. Some of the profoundest treatises that the last half century has produced, have aimed to create a doubt on the point of Christ's sinlessness; and treatises yet more profound, although not, perhaps, equally popular, have come forward to establish this circumstance, so far as human evidence can go to establish it. The impression made upon intellectual circles, is that any attempt to throw doubt on the character which we call man at his climax has been a failure. \*

I do not here cite Rénan, for his argument is full of self-contradictions. His discussion is nothing, as Professor Dorner once remarked, when I questioned him as to the real logical merit of Rénan's historical romance. The Frenchman seems to think positive deception was used by the author of Christianity, and that the character was not sinless, and, therefore, cannot be man at his climax. But the scheme of this writer is full of points that cancel each other. Adoration, he claims, should be offered to the character, and yet attempts to prove that there was in it indirect prevarication. And so over and over in history we have had these attempts made with acuteness and with force, and, after eighteen hundred years of the fiercest discussion, here we are looking back and seeing no climax, unless that is it.

You think I am a mystic; you think I am a Christian fanatic; but in this argument I am a mere student of history and of the laws of the ascent of life. I gaze over the centuries that have gone by, and affirm that God has given to the world only one supreme teacher in religion, and that this teacher was He in whom we see man at his climax. I am willing to take all comparative theology into my bosom. Tell me what you please about the light of Asia, sung enchantingly as it may be by recent poetry; tell me what you please

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\* See Ullmann, "The Sinlessness of Jesus,"

### *THE INCARNATION THE CULMINATION OF THE CREATION.*

of the religions that have absorbed a portion of Christianity ; it yet remains true that the attestation of history proves God to have given to the human race one, and only one, supreme teacher, whom the centuries have attested as the highest among men.

We are agreed that the highest in each individual is the conscience. We are agreed in our serious solitude that the highest in history is Christ. Now I ask : What is the fair inference from these two propositions ? That the man who means to be natural, that the man who intends to harmonize his being with these irresistible powers of the infinities and the eternities about us, absolutely must harmonize himself with the highest outcome of them—that is, with conscience in himself and with Christ, man's climax in history. I ask you to believe nothing now as to His Deity. His character may lead you to take His own testimony as to many points of doctrine which He taught ; but, for the present regarding the whole topic from the point of view of mere reason, I gaze back across the centuries to man's climax, and I say that the climax within us, and the climax without us, point to the same duty of self-surrender to the moral law, requiring universal harmonization with the divine ought, reverberating in the intonations of the unseen from all quarters approachable by the human faculties. We have been born ; we cannot escape from existence ; we are here, awake or asleep, and one day shall cease to dream ; and if we are scientific, if we are in earnest, if we are men and women, and not dreamers or fools, it is time for us to seek similarity of feeling with the God within us and with man's climax without us.

Aye, aye, a God within us ? you say, and no God in Him ? A God in man at his beginning, and no God in man at his climax ? Tell me there is a God in conscience, and deny to me the right to assert that there is a God in Christ ! Admit that there is in this moral sense a touch from the unseen, and that he who yields to that touch will have other and deeper touches, and that by giving up utterly to God there may be a dwelling in us of the eternal power not ourselves that makes for righteousness—give me a right to assert all these things, and then deny me a right to say that in this climax, where conscience had full course and was glorified, there was no God.

I am not asserting that the divine in Christ was not something different from the divine in conscience and the divine in nature. I am asking you to grant what you cannot deny on your premises : that if there is a God in conscience when man is at his beginning, then there is a God in Christ, who is man at his climax. The nature of conscience is to be read not only in your inner spirit, but also in this climax of humanity.



### *THE ASCENT OF LIFE; OR,*

You are to take Hellenism at its best from Praxiteles and Phidias. You are to take moral culture at its best. From what? From whom? From the climax of moral culture in man. You think there is a Divine Spirit lying behind art; you believe that the nations have been led from point to point of development until certain ideals of beauty have acquired power over us, and that in this development God has exhibited himself as the author of beauty. You think that it is artistic blasphemy to go back to the uncouth ideals of the savages. You must agree with God in His highest manifestations of beauty; you school your souls to whatever you find the highest outcome of the unfathomable spirit of beauty in the universe; and why have I not as good a right, in the name of mere science, to ask you to take the highest revelations of the moral law and school yourselves into submission to their dictates? There was in the Acropolis, you say, a divine spirit of beauty. Well, but the Acropolis of man's development is this character, of which man's history predicates sinlessness. There is the place for you to cause to stand on high Minerva, with her shield lifted against all spears of scepticism. You can go further still. You can go as far as to have scientific confidence that God is in you, and that God was in the Christ, and that as you must agree with God, you must agree with conscience, and with that climax of man's nature in the Christ foreseen from the beginning and constituting the culmination of the creation.

This is the religion of ethical science as it stands to-day. This is the serious, straightforward, earnest thinking of many a German theologian of the evangelistic and also of the rationalistic school. I am insisting on the points in common between evangelistic and rationalistic teachers, in order that you may stand on them, and in subsequent discussion go higher. If we can come up only to this modern commanding point of view, we rise far above the clatter of what calls itself culture. We arrive at the true culture, and at a scientific roundness of conception concerning our relations to the universe. We arrive, by serious thought, at some perception of our relations to God in us, and the God in Christ. We yield to the demand of pure self-evident truth. Our harmonization with ourselves and our harmonization with the God who was in the climax of human nature require that we should love what God in us loves, and hate what the God in that climax hated. There is nothing but similarity of feeling with the God here and the God there to give us peace with the one or the other. Just as yonder door cannot be open and shut at one and the same time, so you and I cannot have harmonization and at the same time dissonance with the God in us or the God in

*THE INCARNATION THE CULMINATION OF THE CREATION.*

Christ. We must be open or shut to divine leadership ; and Science herself, in the present attitude of scholarly thought in the world, demands our entire submission to the plan of creation revealed in the climax of human nature called the Christ. I am too serious to ask you to give me support by anything other than your prayers ; but I believe that, in giving support by petition, adoration, and total self-surrender to the light you already have, there will burst upon you a flood of radiance, a lofty summit will be reached by you from which you will look down on these lower tracts of culture, these provincial, fog-ridden fields of liberalistic arrogance, and feel yourselves in God's bosom, while they are to be lifted by you into God's presence through your own self-sacrifice. You will not sneer even at the low platitudes of culture falsely so called if ever you attain culture rightly so called ; but in the faith of science you will demand that culture be something other than a water nixie, especially when it becomes didactic.

## *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

### THE PRELUDE.—MORMONISM AND STATE RIGHTS.

THERE is no law in Utah against seduction or adultery. Brigham Young had a brother who lived in open polygamy with his own grand-daughter. A Mormon frequently marries the sisters of his own wife, and sometimes a mother and daughter at once. It is literally true that the opening of the gates of the Rocky Mountains has revealed in Utah a Blue Beard's chamber full of headless women and dead men's bones, and all uncleanness. This unspeakable closet now petitions for admission to the Union on the same footing with Massachusetts and New York, or any other State. The exigencies of party create an enormous pressure in certain political circles in favour of the passing of an enabling act to make an American sovereign commonwealth out of the Mormon Blue Beard's chamber.

What temptations can Utah bring to bear upon politicians at Washington to induce them to admit her as a State before the presidential election of 1880?

1. The vote of Utah will be pledged to that political party which favours her admission. She will give that party two votes in the Senate, and her State delegation in the House. In case the presidential election of 1880 is thrown into the House for decision, Utah will of course have three electoral votes, and will count for as much as New York or Massachusetts. In the general election three electoral votes might be enough to determine the result in a close conflict, and would have determined the last contest. The party which most fears defeat in 1880 would be greatly tempted by offers like these.

2. It will be said that it is arbitrary and unjust in the highest degree to keep Utah, with her one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, out of the Union, when Nevada and other individual territories have been admitted with forty or fifty thousand.

3. It will be claimed that the interests of the Nation, as well as those of the people of Utah, require her admission at once.

4. The Mormon vote is already a controlling political power in Idaho, and is acquiring influence rapidly in Arizona and Colorado, so that the political party which secures for itself the Mormon vote is likely to gain strength in four States of the Union.

5. Utah may actually call a convention and pass a constitution nominally abolishing polygamy, and so attempt to avoid the moral indignation likely to be awakened by any attempt to admit her to the Union with polygamy.

Those are the whispers which will be sounded in the ears of party caucuses at Washington during the coming winter, as they have been during the last five years. They will have peculiar emphasis the coming season because of the nearness of a great election in the nation. One of the deepest political conspiracies that needs to be exposed to-day by the independent platform is the effort of certain

## THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.

unscrupulous politicians to bring Utah into the Union, and obtain her vote in the contest of 1880. Mormon schemers profess that they hope to divide Utah into four States, and so quadruple the pay they can give their friends in Congress. This may not be a promise with enough hope of fruition behind it to tempt shrewd politicians, but the fact that men in Utah, in the church, are plotting for the division of the territory into four States as soon as it shall be admitted, ought to make us pause when we sneer at the idea that there is not bait enough in the Basin States to tempt these political foxes at Washington. It takes but little bait to tempt them. Besides Utah, Idaho might be easily manipulated under Mormon politicians. If Mormonism find her dreams prophetic of reality, she will be able to give the representation of six Basin States, before twenty-five more years pass, to any party in Congress that will favour her cause.

Many citizens of the East think that after Utah is admitted to the Union, with a constitution prohibiting polygamy, the Mormon problem is solved. We then shall have put our foot into the trap. Under the protection of State Rights, the Mormon problem will suddenly acquire gigantic proportions, and will be found more difficult of solution than ever before. I hold in my hand a very important communication from Judge Boreman, of the United States Court in Utah, written to me, with permission to make it public, and in reply to questions which I sent back to Salt Lake City, after a recent visit there. I have received answers to the same enquiries from the ladies of the Anti-Polygamy Society, who, when I was in Salt Lake City, were so much in earnest that they passed resolutions asking the Boston Monday Lectureship to aid in breaking up the illusion of any who believe the Mormon question may be settled by the admission of Utah as a State, with a constitution prohibiting polygamy. My great point is to show that such an admission of Utah, under such a constitution, would be no settlement, but only an exacerbation of all the difficulties of the Mormon problem. Judge Boreman is one of the Justices who brought John D. Lee, the Mountain Meadows butcher, to justice, and has the unlimited confidence of the whole Gentile population of Utah. His communication is at present of really national importance.

Salt Lake City, Utah, Nov. 5th, 1879.

REV. JOSEPH COOK, Boston, Mass.

DEAR SIR,—There has been handed to me by the Rev. R. G. McNeice, a half-dozen questions respecting Utah, with your written request that I give brief answers thereto. I take pleasure in complying with your wish.

Your first question reads as follows:—

I. If Utah were admitted into the Union, without polygamy, would the Gentile population be able to secure justice at the polls and in the courts?

To this I answer most earnestly and unreservedly that in Utah, as a State under Mormon rule, it would simply be impossible for Gentiles to obtain justice either at the polls or in the courts. The admission "without polygamy," would avail nothing, as the State would be overwhelmingly Mormon.

II. What discrimination would probably be made in favour of Mormons by the election laws and courts of Utah, under a Mormon governor?

I answer that under a Mormon state government the Utah election laws, elections, and courts, would all be used, without reserve and without conscience, to foster the church power, to build up Mormon interests, to favour Mormons in all civil contests, and to screen them in every prosecution. And these same agencies would, likewise, be used to cripple and crush every Gentile enterprise, to destroy Gentile interests, and to drive out Gentile residents. The church would dictate

### *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

the election laws, and rule in the elections. An independent judiciary could not exist—it would be an impossibility. An asserted inspiration would dominate and overshadow every other power. Every branch of the civil authority would be forced to prostrate itself before the exacting despotism of the spiritual head. The rights of the Gentiles would, with impunity, be violated and disregarded at the polls and in the courts; and there would be no redress.

III. How would you recommend evidence of the fact of polygamy to be obtained?

If Utah were admitted as a State, no law of Congress could be applied to eradicate polygamy. This can only be done while Utah is a Territory. And now, whilst it is a Territory, the statutes of Congress should make polygamy a continuous offence, existing as long as the parties live together as man and wife. In that case the statute of limitations would not begin to run until the parties cease to live together. If the offence be not treated as continuous, the statute of limitations should be repealed as to it; for the time is too short, such prosecutions being barred in three years by congressional enactment. Living together as man and wife, and recognizing each other as such, should be sufficient to warrant conviction. No ceremony should be required to be proved. The marriages are performed in sworn secrecy, in the "Endowment House," as they call it; and Mormons consider all such church oaths as more binding than any oath in a "Gentile" court, or before a "Gentile" officer. If, after a party's conviction and punishment, he should again return to his polygamous life, as is certain to always be the case, it should be deemed a new offence.

The law should require every marriage to be recorded in some public record. Particular classes of persons should be designated to perform these ceremonies, but every such person should be required to obtain a permit to act from some proper authority; and no marriage should be allowed to take place without a licence therefrom having first been obtained. We are without any statute whatever upon the subject of marriage.

IV. What would become of Gentile schools and what would Mormons do for education, if Utah, under Mormon rule, were in the Union?

The Gentile schools would die out and be closed, for want of support. The Gentile children would, of course, remove with their parents from the territory, and the Mormon children would be forced out of the Gentile schools. The Mormon schools are very inferior now, but far in advance of what they were before the advent of the Gentiles; and if the Gentile schools were out of the way, the Mormon schools would relapse into their former very low condition. I have no doubt but that the Mormons, if left to themselves, would have the "Deseret" alphabet, instead of the English, used in their schools, and thus gradually shut out the light of English and American civilization from the rising generations. The leaders of the Mormon church stand in deadly hostility to general education, and are especially bitter against free schools.

V. Were Utah admitted to the Union with a Constitution prohibiting polygamy, and the prohibitory clause should not be executed by the Mormon governor, what remedies should be applied to eradicate this evil, existing under State rights?

If Utah were admitted into the Union as a State, I know of no remedy that could be applied by Congress to eradicate polygamy, without an amendment to the United States Constitution prohibiting it. Congress would be powerless without such an amendment. Utah might be admitted into the Union with a Constitution prohibiting polygamy, yet as soon as she should be in the Union, she

### THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.

could revoke and annul her constitution at pleasure, as she would do, and adopt one expressly recognizing and establishing polygamy, and no law of Congress could reach it. Or she might see proper to allow the prohibitory clause to remain in her constitution, yet refuse to enforce it; and neither Congress nor any other branch of the general government could enforce it, or compel the State to do so. Or, to go farther, Congress might make the abolition of polygamy a condition of admission, yet such condition would avail nothing, as the general government could never enforce it. The State could not be expelled from the Union, nor the State government nor people punished, nor would there be any way for Congress to remedy or reach the evil. The Mormons now oppose the enforcement of the law. They would then oppose the enforcement of the condition. The bad faith of such a course would not give them any concern. They would have gained their object, and have secured a State government.

The only safe course to pursue in regard to Utah is to keep her out of the Union, and under the control of Congress, until polygamy is thoroughly eradicated, by enforcement of the law, and there is no controlling sentiment in the territory favourable to its re-establishment. When that time arrives, the power of the priesthood will probably be broken, and all classes be enabled to obtain justice and be protected in their rights.

VI. In what particulars ought the present election laws and courts of Utah to be changed to secure to the non-Mormon population, under State organization, their full rights as to life, property and education?

If Utah should become a State, no law of Congress could effect these objects without a radical change in the structure of our general government, so as to allow Congress to regulate the internal affairs of the States; and this change is not likely ever to be made.

As the Government is now constituted, no laws of Congress can be enforced within a State unless such enforcement be authorized by the United States Constitution, either in express terms or by necessary implication. Beyond such powers thus vested in the general government, each State retains the exclusive control of its own internal affairs, and each State stands upon an equal footing with every sister State. Therefore, it is only whilst Utah remains a Territory that the laws of Congress can be made effective in respect to the objects designated. Congress has exclusive control of the Territories. Hence Congress should now give Utah a good election law whereby registration and elections should be under the general supervision of officers to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and subject to removal by the President.

This supervisory power ought to be deposited somewhere. It is now committed to Mormon hands, and the trust is systematically violated. Honest registration, honest voting, and honest canvassing of votes, should be secured. Women, if allowed to vote, should be required to possess the same qualifications as men to entitle them to vote. Polygamous women, of foreign birth, unnaturalized, and not in the country long enough to be naturalized, are allowed to vote upon the assumption that they are the *wives* of citizens. This should not be allowed. No man or woman living in polygamy should be allowed to vote or hold office. No man living in polygamy should be allowed to sit upon a jury. Polygamy should disqualify a person for every place of trust.

The present unwieldy jury law should be simplified. The names of two hundred men are provided, from which grand and *petit* jurors are selected for four terms of court during the year, and no juror can serve at more than one term.

### THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.

These two hundred names are generally exhausted by the end of the third term, and the court have to do without juries at the fourth term. No talesmen are allowed; and the mode of selecting jurors is unnecessarily tedious.

If the laws be amended as I have suggested in my answers to your questions, then they can be enforced in Utah; and if enforced, polygamy will be eradicated and the priestly despotism which holds this Territory in its grasp, will be broken up.

If Utah, under Mormon rule, be admitted into the Union as a state, the power of the Church will grow rapidly and spread out, until other territories and States will fall under its baneful influence. Its leprous hands are already stretching out into other fields. In a few years it would become powerful and arrogant, and assume to defy the national authority. In that rebellion, as slavery in the Great Rebellion, polygamy would *by the sword* receive its death blow; and then, and not until then, would there be a constitutional amendment prohibiting it.

I feel the deepest possible sympathy for the masses of this deluded Mormon people. They are in the hands of designing and unscrupulous leaders who use them for their own aggrandizement. They are, of course, ignorant, fanatical, and superstitious. They would not be controlled by such masters if they were not so.

I have thus imperfectly answered your questions or tried to do so, but the answers are not as concise as I had hoped to make them. Wherever I have used the word "Gentile," it is meant to include "apostate-Mormon."

What I have written, you are authorized to use either in public or in private, and in such manner as you may deem proper.

With great respect, I am, very truly, your obedient servant and friend,

JACOB S. BOREMAN,  
*United States Judge.*

P.S. There are some repetitions in these answers; but they seem necessary, as each question stands by itself.

J. S. B.

Mrs. Paddock, the authoress, has recently given us a book on Mormonism, entitled "In the Toils." I was so much interested in reading this volume on the railway, the other day, in Ohio, that, as I was studying the book, I unconsciously rode past the station to which I was assigned, and was obliged to take a ten miles' carriage ride through the gorgeous and golden October to get back to my destination. With other members of the Anti-Polygamy Society of Salt Lake City<sup>a</sup> this lady has given me authority to use in public her testimony, and I quote her acute replies to four of the questions I addressed to her, that you may notice their entire agreement with the answers the same inquiries received from Judge Boreman.

I. If Utah were admitted into the Union without polygamy, would the Gentile population be able to secure justice at the polls and in the courts?

"Most emphatically, No. Again and again, even during the past eight years, the Legislature, composed entirely of members of the Mormon priesthood, and almost wholly of practical polygamists, have passed proscriptive acts designed to drive Gentiles from the territory, and the acts have failed to become laws only because of the absolute veto power of a Gentile governor. Once admit Utah as a State, with a governor elected by the Saints, and they would legislate us out of the country in six months. They hate us with a bitter and unrelenting hatred. In the Endowment House, all Mormons, male and female, swear to avenge the blood of Joseph Smith on the Government and people of the United States, and they imprecate on themselves a curse, too horrible to repeat, in case they fail to keep.

## THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.

this oath. The idea of admitting Utah into the Union *without polygamy* is wholly chimerical. A convention may be called, and a State Constitution adopted with a clause prohibiting polygamy, but that clause will not be worth the paper on which it is written. If not repealed at the very first session of the Legislature, it will be wholly inoperative. At present, nearly every office in the gift of the people is filled by men who have from two to ten wives apiece, and thirty-four out of the thirty-nine members of the Utah Legislature are to-day living in polygamy. Add to this the fact that polygamous marriages are now taking place every week in the year, and that the highest authorities in the church counsel the Saints to take arms in their hands and die where they stand, rather than give up plural marriage, and you can form some idea of the probabilities that the Mormons themselves will abolish polygamy for the sake of securing a State organization."

II. What discrimination would probably be made in favour of Mormons by the election laws of Utah under a Mormon governor?

"The election laws would be so framed and construed as practically to disfranchise Gentiles. At present there is a law in force, passed by the Mormon legislature, which requires that voters shall be tax-payers. This law is so interpreted as to disfranchise the miners, whose property is not taxable, and whose receipt for poll-tax is withheld by Mormon collectors, while alien women and girls under age, who have never paid a cent of taxes, and whose only claim to the franchise lies in the fact that they have been polygamously *sealed* to a Mormon who is a citizen, vote unchallenged by scores and hundreds. I was present myself at an election for Delegate to Congress, when a Deputy U. S. Marshal attempted to challenge the votes of such women, and the judge of the election, a polygamist, refused to allow it, while at other polls on the same day, U. S. Marshals were beaten nearly to death by the Mormon police for attempting to discharge their sworn duties."

III. How would you recommend evidence of the fact of polygamy to be obtained?

"In the opinion of our present prosecuting attorney, and two out of three U. S. Judges at present presiding here, common law evidence is not enough. If the Act of Congress could be so amended as to make dwelling together, and the general reputation of marriage, sufficient proof of the fact, and living in polygamy to constitute the offence, instead of the ceremony, justice could be obtained. At present no one whose plural marriage took place two years ago can be prosecuted, and those who are now taking plural wives are quite safe if they can keep the matter quiet for two years."

IV. What would become of Gentile schools, and what would the Mormons do for education, if Utah, under Mormon control, were in the Union?

"No Gentile school could continue to exist. At present the Mormon press is devoting column after column to the abuse of Gentile schools; and the spirit manifested by the press only waits opportunity to show itself in action. In the past the Mormon authorities have neglected education and opposed free schools. At present there is not a free school in the Territory, though in the Gentile schools a large number of pupils receive a free tuition."

When I met the ladies of the Anti-Polygamy Society at Salt Lake City, things were said to my wife which I cannot repeat to you. In communications now in my hands, which only a lady can write to a lady, I have facts which I could not read aloud here without your driving me through yonder door into the street.



### THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.

"These two extracts are the least terrible portions of a letter from one of the foremost ladies of the Anti-Polygamy Society of Salt Lake City.

"The laws of Utah do not recognize the crime of incest; consequently plural marriage within forbidden degrees of relationship is very common. Men take their own nieces and even their own half-sisters as plurals, and one of Brigham Young's brothers lived openly with his own granddaughter. It is so common for a man to marry both mother and daughter that nobody thinks anything of it. Sometimes a man is sealed to a mother and one or more of her daughters on the same day; and sometimes he takes the mother first, and the daughters are sealed to him as fast as they arrive at womanhood.

"The record of the blood and cruelty which the history of this Territory furnishes is without parallel. Some years ago a United States' detective furnished me with a list of six hundred and thirty cold-blooded *religious* murderers ferreted out by him, and this list did not include the victims of the Mountain Meadows massacre. In order to make this record complete, it is only necessary to add that *not one* of the murderers has ever been punished. If, by any chance, the saintly perpetrator of one or more of these crimes is arrested and tried, a Mormon jury pronounces him 'not guilty,' in the face of the most positive evidence, and his fellow-saints escort him home with the accompaniment of a band of music and flags flying."

When I asked the editor of the brave and powerful Salt Lake City *Tribune* whether it would be safe to admit Utah to the Union as a State with a constitution prohibiting polygamy, he replied that in six months after such an event, his property in Salt Lake City would not be worth a quarter of a dollar. Here, then, you have an editor, and this authoress, and the ladies of the Anti-Polygamy Society, and this grave judge, all agreeing that we are wrong in the East when we dream that the admission of Utah with a constitution prohibiting polygamy is all that is needed to settle the Mormon question, under the operation of natural causes.

The President of the United States, in a message published this morning, says that there is, in his opinion, reason for taking the right of suffrage away from those who violate the laws against polygamy in Utah. Do that one thing, and you strike at the root of the Upas tree which is now shedding down its poison on a territory larger than New England, a territory Asiatic in its richness when you irrigate it, and which is better and better watered every year; a territory which already exports agricultural productions, in spite of the blistered look of its sands and the desolate appearance of its vast stretches of sage-brush. Utah is one of the most important mining districts in the world. The tawny robe of this Basin State lion is sifted full of silver and gold, and its very bones are made up of coal and iron. Utah can supply the world with salt. She has mountains of pure gypsum, and immense beds of almost pure sulphur. There is scarcely any mineral used by man that is not found in abundance in her spiked and jagged mountains. The value of the export of silver, gold, lead, and other ores and metals from Utah, has averaged six millions for each of the last three years. In the next twelve months it is likely to be ten millions. Strike where President Hayes tells you to let the axe fall, and this Upas tree, which now is the curse of the whole Basin region, will drop as a compost-heap, and give you there, ultimately, purity and wealth.

## *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

### THE LECTURE.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD, in this house, one hundred and forty years ago, taught the doctrine of the New Birth, at an hour when it was a novelty in New England. A church more or less connected with the State had become so secularized even in Boston as not to require a spiritual church membership. So deeply did Whitefield and Edwards sink a belief in the necessity of the New Birth into the mind of this country, that to-day the doctrine is common-place. We read Whitefield's discourses, and wonder what in them could have awakened such attention as to pack thousands into this house, and bring together fifteen, eighteen, twenty thousand in the hushed, open-air assemblies on Boston Common. The doctrine which he taught he supported by Revelation. Discussing the relations of religion to science, I am to establish the same doctrine, with no aid from Scripture at all, except in so far as the human soul is a revelation from God, and as natural law enswathing us is itself a Divine Scripture as sacred as any other penned by the Almighty finger.

What I am afraid of is, not the bann of any ecclesiastical party, for I belong to no party; but it is dissonance with the nature of things. It is want of harmony with that constitution of the universe which was, and is, and is to come. It is unalterable, and it is He.

Is it literally true that the New Birth, defined as Edwards and Whitefield understood it, must be sought by culture if culture is to be true to its own principles?

What is the New Birth? The acquisition of similarity of feeling with God. Is that necessary for our peace here and hereafter? Ask self-evident truth whether you can love what God hates and hate what God loves, and be at harmony with Him. Grant me nothing in the shape of a proof-text except this immortal and eternal axiom, that the door cannot be open and shut at one and the same time. A thing cannot be and be at one and the same time, and in one and the same sense, and therefore we cannot love what God hates and hate what God loves, and be at peace with Him. In past years, so far gone by that I am almost ashamed to confess my early misfortunes, I have had my struggles with doctrinal unrest. I have paced over fierce burning sands of limitless unanswered religious questioning, and yet I hope I kept on straight across the desert. At any rate, I remembered Carlyle's advice that he who never turns back in that howling waste, but manfully faces all his doubts, will find on the other side of the blistering sands cool, crystalline springs, out of which burst waters for the quenching of the thirst of all nations. The first springs I came to were these truths of intuition, these self-evident principles.

### *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

on which I base what I love to call axiomatic theology. I commend to all religiously thirsty lips a deep draught out of these cool, perennial springs, the first you meet in the oases beyond the desert of doubt.

1. Culture is to be held responsible for the thorough application of its own principles.

2. Among the most vaunted and emphatic principles of culture are these three :

(1) Fellowship with God in Nature.

(2) Full growth and freedom for all the soul's faculties.

(3) Harmonization of the fully grown and active soul with its environment.

3. It has already been shown that fellowship with God in Nature requires fellowship with the highest outcome of Nature,—that is, with the law of the ascent of life, or with the conscience as the highest in man, and with the Christ as the highest in history.

4. But this fellowship of affection with the Christ and with conscience is only another name for the New Birth, and, therefore, the necessity of the latter results from a thorough application of the first principle of culture.

My purpose is to show that a three-fold cord is not easily broken ; and so I mean to make it clear, if possible, that every one of these haughtily trumpeted principles of culture leads to the same conclusion.

5. The second principle of culture requires freedom and full growth for all the faculties, including conscience ; and this, at its fullest development, is to be seen only in the Christ. And so the second principle necessitates the glad and total surrender of the will to the moral law, and this is but another name for the New Birth.

6. While we continue to exist we must keep company with our own natures.

7. It is scientifically incontrovertible that we know inductively that the soul, like everything else, is made on a plan.

8. The plan of any mechanism is to be ascertained by finding out how it can be operated in as nearly frictionless a manner as possible.

9. We cannot have harmony with ourselves, unless we love what the plan of our nature loves, and hate what it hates.

10. What the plan of human nature requires is seen in the highest outcome of the law of the ascent of life,—that is, in the conscience in man, and in the Christ in history.

Why am I so insisting upon this second law of culture ? Because it supplements all the others, and saves me from being vulnerable

### *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

by your objection, that man is a degraded being, or is fallen, and that therefore his present nature is not to be taken as an indication of what is natural to the full-grown soul. I use the highest outcome of human nature as proof of what the plan of human nature is, and that highest outcome is the Christ. I am not asking you now to grant me anything more than that His soul is the highest summit known to history, and that what conscience was in Him it tends to be in us whenever we cease to walk on all fours, and under the law of the ascent of life, stand erect, with our souls full grown and free.

11. No one part of the soul is to be allowed to act without the unforced consent of every other part.

12. No joy is natural that is not full.

13. The frictionless in a full-orbed human nature is the natural in human nature.

14. Continuous joy in all the faculties is a sign of the frictionless or natural action of the faculties.

15. Only when reason and conscience are supreme in the religious sense can a full-orbed soul obtain frictionless action within its environment, or continuous joy in all its faculties.

16. The religious is, therefore, scientifically known by induction to be the only natural, that is, the only frictionless action of human nature within its unalterable environment of God, conscience, and our record.

It was the sense of Greek philosophy, and it is the deep sense of modern ethical science, that we must live with ourselves. If we are made on a plan, we must find out the plan and submit to it meekly, for we cannot alter the plan, or make one hair white or black. Even the haughty physicists here, lynx-eyed as to every physical fact in the universe, but wall-eyed as to every spiritual fact, must now grant me that this single admission, that law is universal, necessitates the doctrine of the New Birth.

17. The soul, therefore, under the central principle of culture, must be harmonized with the conscience at its best, that is, with the Christ, and this is only another name for the New Birth.

18. The soul must be harmonized with its eternal environment by the Power and Person not ourselves that makes for righteousness. Two cannot walk together unless they are agreed, but the soul must walk with the Eternal Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness.

19. It must love, therefore, what that power loves, and hate what that power hates; in other words, it must acquire similarity of

### *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

feeling with God in order to have peace in His Presence, here and hereafter.

20. The scientific necessity of similarity of feeling with God is the scientific necessity for the New Birth, for the former is only another name for the latter.

When the battle was fought between the 'Monitor' and the 'Merrimac,' the ship 'Cumberland,' which the poet Longfellow has made immortal by an ode, went down in water so shallow that her topgallants remained above the waves. A surgeon, a friend of Governor Andrew, was in the hold of the ship when she went down; but, by keeping in view the light which streamed through the hatchways, and aiding himself on the rigging, he at last reached the surface, and was taken into a boat and saved. Now, the insidious, the almost insane persuasion which governs average human nature is, that when we go down in the sea of death and eternity, we are to leave ourselves behind ourselves, and swim out of ourselves, and be taken into some life-boat at the surface of the eternal ocean, and so brought to peace. The trouble with that precious theory, my friends, is, that we are the 'Cumberland,' and the 'Cumberland' cannot swim out of the 'Cumberland.' Here is the first axiomatic truth on which the man who really reveres science ought to found himself, and demand, in the name of mere culture, harmony with this portion of the environment of his soul from which he cannot flee.

As I clasp my hands together, finger is the environment of finger, and so faculty in the soul is the environment of faculty. We must have harmony with the plan of our own natures, for we are going to live with ourselves as long as we live at all. Socrates said there was one wife from whom he could not be divorced, and that was his conscience; and he feared vastly that the lack of harmony between him and that wife might destroy his peace in the eternal mansions.

Since law is universal, everything is made on a plan. My soul is, therefore, made on a plan. My hand is made to shut towards the front, and not towards the back. My judgment on that point is dictated by the principle that the frictionless action of the hand is in the former direction, and not in the latter. If I bend the hand towards the back, I injure portions of its mechanism. It cannot be that the natural action of the hand involves its own destruction. The frictionless is the natural in any mechanism.

Simple as this principle is, you may apply it to the soul with vast results.

### *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

What is the frictionless in the relation of the human faculties to each other and to their immense environment of natural law, including conscience and God?

This is a purely scientific question. I have infinitely weighty reasons for wishing to find out by a stern application of self-evident truths how I can be in harmony with my own faculties, from which I cannot escape while I live, and with this Power not ourselves which makes for righteousness, and which will enswathe me as long as I exist.

The 'Cumberland' cannot swim away from the 'Cumberland,' nor can the 'Cumberland' float outside of the sea. For ever, and for ever, we are to be environed by the Power which makes for righteousness, and shot through by it as the clouds are by the light of noon. There is no planet that can roll beyond the law of gravitation. How can we succeed in being at peace in this universe, if we love what the Power which makes for righteousness hates, and hate what it loves?

I want nothing but the simple axiom of non-contradiction to show me that in order to have peace, I absolutely must acquire similarity of feeling with my conscience at its best, and with the God from whom I cannot flee.

Of course I know that I am on a topic too serious to admit of declamation, but it is not too serious to admit of the application of the ordinary tests of science. If I am to determine what is natural to man, I must not take any stunted specimen of human growth as exhibiting the complete action of the faculties.

If I go into the fields and pluck a lily of the valley and bring it to some great professor at Harvard, he will not take it as a natural specimen of the plant unless it is fully grown. He will not accept any growth of skin-flint earth. He must have the plant at its best, for otherwise he does not know what is natural to it. So, if I bring to him the plant called maize, he will ask me whether it comes from France, where it produces forty to one, or from Mexico, where it produces one hundred and fifty to one. If I cannot find a perfect specimen of the lily of the valley or of the maize, he sends me a-field with my canvas. He tells me to make a painting summarizing the best traits of many specimens. He puts that painting into his collection of representations of plants, and shows the picture to his classes, and tells them that that is what is natural to the lily of the valley and the maize. If this be a scientific procedure concerning these vegetable growths, surely the same procedure is lawful as to the growth of what we call the human soul. I will not take any

*THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

stunted specimen of man from the blood-stained acres of old Rome, to show me what is natural to the human faculties. I take no stunted growth spindling down between the flagstones of Wall-street, and trodden on by the split hoofs of greed and fraud. I want a soul that does not walk on all fours, but that shows me human nature at its best, if I am to ascertain what the frictionless is in a full-grown and free human spirit.

Precisely as I was authorised by science in the former case to go a-field with my canvas, and make up a painting summarizing the best traits of many specimens, so I am authorized to go a-field and make up from the best traits of many specimens a picture of human nature, full-grown, free and active in every faculty. Take Phocion for Rome, and Hampden for England, and Washington for America, to illustrate what disinterested patriotism can be in man. Join in one Aristotle and Kant and Leibnitz and Edwards, to show what intellectual subtlety may be in a human being. Put together Plato, Isaiah, Shakespeare, Richter, and Milton, to show what imagination and spiritual insight may become in man. Join in one the goodly company of the prophets and the apostles and the martyrs, to make up your ideal of what spiritual elevation may be in the soul. I will not recede at all from the application of my principle, for I will take the best growth of every lower faculty after you have given me the best of the higher. It will be safe to put into this specimen, the best growth of the basilar faculties of human nature, after you have summarized in the same ideal the best growth of the coronal faculties. It will be placing archangels on steeds of fire, if you put the Isaiahs and the Platos and the Johns into the summit of human nature, and in the base the Neros and the Caligulas. The lower will be bitted, and only add strength to their archangelic riders.

When you have made up an ideal of the full-orbed soul, ask yourselves how it can be harmonized with its environment, that is, with conscience and God. Can it have peace while it hates what God loves, and loves what God hates? Can you harmonize a fully grown and free soul with itself, without its total, affectionate, and glad self-surrender to reason and conscience?

When I was in the Louvre, I saw the "Venus of Milo," that famous marble, the best representation antiquity has given us of female excellence. Over against it stood Michael Angelo's "Slave sleeping in the Market-place," the worthiest representation modern art has given us of man's faculties at their best. This woman's sympathies were as tender as the azure, and as pure and as broad. She had quality, of course, but she had also quantity of being. This man had quantity,

### THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.

of course, but he also had quality. It is said to be hard to find a woman combining both quantity and quality; or a man combining the two. It is easy to find a woman with a fine nature, but not so easy to find one both fine and large. It is easy to find a man large, but not so easy to find one both large and fine. Here were the two ideals, each at its best, all the faculties apparently fully grown and active. As I stood there, these problems of ethics were passing through my mind, and I was questioning whether either of those human beings could have peace with the nature which each represented without loving what God loves and hating what He hates. There came into the room a young man who had had a liberal education in every thing except the moral faculties. In Europe he had made himself a chimney-sweep of the blackest throats of the chimneys of Gehenna. He had immersed himself in the soot of the nether fires of the dissipation of the continent. I thought him an unprejudiced judge, and so I said: "Take this man and woman, clothe them in modern wardrobe, and turn them out into the dissipations of Paris. What would happen?" "Nothing very bad," said he. "How do you know?" I said. "Why, there is too much of them," was his reply; "it would not be easy for them to stoop down to vice." "Expose them to all the temptations of our evil days," I said; "send them around the world." He replied, with emphasis: "They would come back hand in hand, possibly, for they might want a home; but they would return without the smell of fire on their garments." "Why are you so sure of this?" "Well," said he, taking a long look at the marbles, "there is *too much of them for it to be easy for them to walk on all fours*. They cannot wriggle through the lattice-work of greed and fraud and leprosy, and have peace. It would not be possible for either to have peace while stooping down to lap up slime out of the gutter."

If you please, that man struck in those conversational phrases, the central note of modern ethical science: that when man is fully developed, when he does not walk on all fours, when he uses all his faculties, each at its best, then he is too large to have peace in any other way than by a total surrender of his soul to the moral law, pointed out by conscience. That is the way man is made, and we cannot alter the plan of our natures, nor break up companionship with it while we exist. The stars in their courses fight against every one who does not fight with them. We must take our choice to be with or against the very nature of things.

On all hands I see men who are loving what God hates and hating what God loves; and, as I live, I believe it is ill with such men, and



### *THE NEW BIRTH A SCIENTIFIC NECESSITY.*

that it will continue to be ill, while they continue in this dissimilarity of feeling with God. You say that God is good. Our molluscaous liberalism is teaching us constantly that, as a parent forgives his child, God will forgive us. Fatherhood, sonship,—these are, indeed, the central ideas of the moral universe. But show me the father, who is worthy of the name, who will forgive a child before the child is sorry for his fault. The child tells a falsehood, never repents, has a brazen conscience, will not admit that he has done wrong, knows that he has, but does not repent. Does the father forgive the child? If he does, he harms him. By as much as the father loves the child, by so much he refrains from pardoning him until the son is sorry for his fault and really chooses its opposite. If I live long enough in dissimilarity of feeling with God, I may never be really sorry for my sins and choose their opposites. God's Fatherhood itself prevents him from injuring any soul by pardoning it in its wilful disloyalty. That which I am afraid of is God's Fatherhood. What I fear is, not so much God's justice as His infinite love, which will forbid Him for ever from pardoning me while I am yet voluntarily rebellious to Him. To pardon me in that state is to injure me, just as to pardon a child in his self-chosen lie is to injure the child. To pardon any soul while it is in wilful rebellion to the moral law, is to injure that soul, and this Omniscient Love will never do. That is why I am afraid in this universe, and why I wish for all men speedy similarity of feeling with God, before they drop into a final dissimilarity of feeling with Him. As it is sure that I must be enswathed for ever in the eternal Power that makes for righteousness, it is sure that I must love what it loves, and hate what it hates, or every star in every constellation will fight against me. This is a necessity of self-evident truth. The haughtiness of negation is shattered here upon the stern reef of modern ethical science. It is the glory of what I call axiomatic theology that it guides men by the self-evident truths of common sense into the very depths of the holiest truths of religion. It shows, by the very same principles on which you depend behind the counter, and in the halls of legislation, and in juries trying cases of life and death, and in arithmetic, and in geometry, that we must absolutely have similarity of feeling with God, or we cannot have peace in His presence. If we postpone the acquisition of that similarity, we may fall into dissimilarity of feeling which will become first prolonged, then inveterate, and then possibly final; and, if final, must lead to a state where God cannot pardon us if He loves us.

## THE CATHOLIC QUESTION—"CONCEALED PURPOSES OF ROMANISM AS TO EDUCATION."

*[Public sentiment being now greatly aroused by recent Roman Catholic attacks on the American Common School System, Mr. Cook devoted the whole of his Lecture to the subject announced for the Prelude: "Concealed Purposes of Romanism as to Education."]*

### THE LECTURE.

ARCHBISHOP WILLIAMS, of Boston, whispers to Father Scully, of Cambridgeport: "Hist! No noisy barking against the American public schools. A still hunt is what the Church wants. The parochial schools are to be defended, and the public schools assailed unflinchingly, but with prudence, with suavity, with opportuneness." The manly outspokenness of the priest is preferable to the politic indirection of the archbishop. Bunker Hill, Faneuil Hall, the Old South, listen to this colloquy and whisper to each other: "Whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad." O Lord, now let the prayers of our fathers be fulfilled abundantly, that the love of good learning may not be buried in their graves!

That I may not seem to slander Archbishop Williams, I propose to allow him to speak for himself. "We are authorized by His Grace, the Archbishop," says a Catholic newspaper of this city,\* "to say that his advice to the clergy on a recent occasion indicated no new purpose or policy, and that the substance and intent of what he did say are contained in the following statement," which, further on, we are told the archbishop himself has seen and approved. It needs only pronunciation, with a little attention to the laws of elocution, to show that the whole document is but the ostrich with her head in the sand. "The archbishop, moved by the public interest in the school question, recalled to the minds of the clergy the principles of Catholic theology that relate to the Christian education of the young; and in view of our embarrassing circumstances, the difficulties of the matter, and recent events, exhorted them to use the utmost prudence and charity in the application of these principles. . . . On the principles themselves all true Catholics are agreed." This is a reference to whatever proclaims authoritatively the Catholic principles concerning the education of the young, and the most important

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\* *The Pilot*, Dec. 6, 1879.

## THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

document on that topic is the Papal Syllabus, with the principles of which you are too sadly familiar. "Catholics differ, if at all," continued the archbishop, "only as regards the feasibility, opportuneness, or best methods of giving these principles," that is, of the Syllabus, "practical effect. . . . The archbishop strongly urged that, whenever practicable, such schools should be established in every parish, and, as far as possible, made equal to the public schools."

A definition of the word "practicable" is of great importance to us as well as to the Roman Catholic public, and we have that definition in this precious document. "Parochial schools are regarded as practicable," the archbishop assures us, "where their establishment and support would not create any serious financial embarrassment, or impose too grievous a burden on the resources of the faithful. As, in the absence of suitable Catholic schools, parents send their children to the public schools rather than allow them to grow up illiterate, they should make it a matter of conscience to take due precautions against the dangers of such schools, and attend diligently to the instruction of the children in Christian doctrine out of school hours."

Further on we have these astonishing declarations, in which much is contained between the lines: "Any priest hearing confessions in the private tribunal of penance is free, in the exercise of his faculties, in this as in all other cases, to give or withhold absolution, guided by the disposition of the penitent and his own judgment and discretion, and his knowledge of the facts and principles involved."

I beg you to notice carefully the qualifications which encumber the next sentence: "Parents who, for good and sufficient reasons, omit to send their children to the parochial schools, but otherwise secure for them efficient religious instruction, may, if well disposed, be admitted to the sacraments." The implication is that all parents who cannot meet these numerous and colossal conditions, every one of them to be interpreted by the priest, and the bishop, may be excluded from the sacraments, on which, in the opinion of the Romish laymen and laywomen, salvation may depend.

The next sentence is adroit also: "No priest has the right, save in the rare and exceptional cases of public scandalous sinners, to publicly refuse any of the sacraments of the church to any Catholic reasonably applying for the same." But there is no denial of the right to refuse the sacraments privately.

From these extracts I derive the following five propositions, which I regard as a final proclamation of an aggressive policy on the part of the Romish Church against the American public schools:—

1. The principles of Catholic theology as expressed in the famous Papal Syllabus have the approval of all true Catholics.
2. Wherever practicable, parochial schools are to be established in every Roman Catholic parish.
3. They are regarded as practicable where their establishment would not create any serious financial embarrassment.
4. In the absence of suitable Catholic schools, Romish parents who patronize American public schools must attend diligently to the

**"CONCEALED PURPOSES OF ROMANISM AS TO EDUCATION."**

instruction of their children in Roman Catholic doctrine out of school hours.

5. Any priest hearing confessions in the private tribunal of penance, is free to give or withhold absolution in the case of parents who patronize the American public schools, when parochial schools are within reach.

I personally and publicly request Archbishop Williams to deny the accuracy of a single one of these propositions, as a representative of the present position of the Romish priesthood, concerning American common schools. Most of the propositions are in his own language. You suspect me of hot opinion on this point; you think that I am easily to be led into extravagant statement. But I have no church, I have no parish; there is nobody prompting me to attack the Romish priesthood. I am one American citizen, and an humble one; but by the very fact that I am an humble American citizen I value the common school system, which is the friend of the labouring poor.

1. A priesthood which wishes to do in the United States, what it has done in Spain and in Italy, is an enemy of the social and industrial interests of the Roman Catholic American masses.

Mix the illiterate population of Spain or of Italy with the educated masses of the American people, and the former go to the bottom of society at once. They become hewers of wood and drawers of water. Let the priesthood rule Romanists here as it has in many countries of Europe, and, just as surely as emigrants from those countries, until they obtain education here, go to the bottom of society in America, so surely will a population, manipulated by a foreign priesthood, on our own soil, go to the bottom and become low paid, pinched subordinates in the ranks of labour.

Let me hold up before you two cameos, etchings, minute representations of Roman Catholic rule under its own roof-tree. I have been accused of exaggerating the illiteracy of Italy and Spain, but here I have in my hand "The Statesman's Year Book for 1879" by Frederick Martin. Sixteenth annual publication, revised after official returns. A well-known English authority, quoted in Parliament, in Congress, and by editors, as a marvel of accuracy, so painstaking and conscientious that one of our famous journals felicitated itself, not long ago, on finding a single statistical error in the book; it has no sectarian bias, but is a purely dispassionate and scientific statistical and historical annual of the States of the civilized world. I hold this before me, and on its authority remind you that ninety-nine and three-fourths per cent. of the population of Italy were returned as Catholics in 1871. The Roman hierarchy has managed Italy for centuries, and the Pope himself has governed certain of its States. According to the census of 1864, out of a total population of 21,703,710 souls, there were in Italy 16,999,701 who could neither read nor write. Of these 7,889,238 were men, and 9,110,416 women. Piedmont and Sicily occupied the first and last place on the register of knowledge. In the Basilicata, Calabria, and Sicily, *more than nine-tenths of the inhabitants could neither read nor write.* (p. 307.) Does the Catholic population of this country wish to be reduced to that condition? If

## THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

they do, they will reach it, and they will then go to the bottom of our trades as surely as the Italian peasants brought over here go to the bottom after their long training under parochial schools. This is an inevitable result of the natural laws of society. When an emigrant has had a little experience in America, he must see that the standing of the young clerk, or of the young expressman, or of a man on a railway train, depends greatly on his intelligence. Let the Romish priests manage the education of the young in the United States under the plan on which they have managed Italy, and your Catholic working man will become a brakeman or a fireman, while your Protestant American will be the conductor or the engineer. This circumstance ought to appeal to the Roman population of our republic in such a way as to cause them to withstand, in the interests of their own political, industrial, social, and moral future, the application to this country of the method which has ham-strung so many once stalwart European nationalities. An official return issued by the Italian government in March, 1870, shows a general average of *sixty-four persons without the rudiments of education in every hundred members of the adult male population of Italy.* (p. 308.) Shear away from the large robe of the masses of the Italians, all women, all children of both sexes, all men under the legal age. Take the select remnant and illiteracy of the rustiest kind as a corroding poison, absolute inability to read or write has eaten up ten per cent., fifteen, twenty-five, thirty of it, shall I say? More than that. It has eaten up forty, fifty, sixty-four per cent. of the bright intellects and warm hearts of the adult male Italian population, compatriots of Garibaldi, and successors of Dantè and Galileo. When emigrants come from the classic Italian shores to this country, we see in the result of their competition with the educated American population, what must happen if Italian priests have their way in the parochial schools of the United States. So much for manacled Italy.

I turn now to Spain, and surely this country must be regarded as the paradise of priests, but it happens also to be notoriously the paradise of illiteracy. The national church of Spain is Roman Catholic, and the whole population, with the exception of about sixty thousand persons, adhere to the same faith. (p. 405.) Spain is so solidly Catholic that the exceptions are not worth mentioning to the prevalence of Romanism in that nation. Protestants, of course, have few rights there. It is significant and worthy of notice in passing, that no Protestant circle has a right to make a public announcement of its hours of worship. If you are in Spain, and wish to attend Protestant services, you must do so in private, for according to Article 12 of the Constitution of 1876, all public announcements of these are strictly forbidden. By the last general census of Spain, that of 1876, it was found that of the 16,000,000 population of the kingdom, there were only 2,414,015 men, and 715,906 women, able to read and write. There were 316,557 men, and 389,211 women, able to read but not to write. All the rest, upwards of 5,000,000 men, and 6,800,000 women, could neither read nor write. At the preceding census of 1860, the total number of persons of

**"CONCEALED PURPOSES OF ROMANISM AS TO EDUCATION."**

both sexes able to write, was found to be no more than 1,221,001. The total number able to read was only 1,898,288, or *considerably less than one-fifth of the population.* (p. 407.) It was rare in the latter part of the eighteenth century, or at the beginning of the present, to find a peasant or an ordinary workman who was able to read. This accomplishment among women was even held to be immoral. Until the year 1808, public education was entirely in the hands of the clergy. (p. 406.) Are peasants like these fit for the duties and responsibilities of American representative institutions? What becomes of average Spaniards when they come into rivalry with the average educated American masses? The Spaniards are a proud people. They have shown vast energy in a stately past. There was a time when Portugal and Spain had fleets in all the zones. They are now what Edmund Burke once called them, "stranded whales on the coast of Europe."

There is no adequate explanation of the fact that Spain and Italy have fallen behind in the race with other nations, except the illiteracy of the population, the lack of enterprise which comes from ignorance, and that most accursed system which takes the key of knowledge from the people, and will not use it afterwards except to educate a priesthood into the arts of mastering the populace. Do you want Spain reproduced in the United States? Do Roman Catholic citizens here want priests to have their way in this Union as they have had it in Italy and Spain, and produce a population in which not more than one in five can read and write? That population will become hewers of wood and drawers of water. As one citizen here, as one believer in democratic institutions, as one American belonging to a generation that has suffered something for the preservation of the institutions of this country, I protest in the name of patriotism, in the name of education, in the name of mere philanthropy, in the name of religion and Almighty God, against the aggressive Romish propagandism of ignorance.

2. If you would ascertain the concealed purposes of Romanism as to education, examine the text-books she places in the hands of the young.

Here is a Catholic school book used in high schools and sometimes in colleges,—a modern history by Peter Fredet, Professor of History in St. Mary's College, Baltimore. I turn to the appendix of it and come upon a most amazing series of notes. Here are dissertations pouring copious, loathsome, mucilaginous, but not adhesive, white-wash on the massacre of St. Bartholomew and on the Inquisition. Here are apologies for the greatest atrocities Rome has committed. We are told here deliberately that Romish priests had nothing to do with the death of most of those who suffered in the Inquisition; that at the moment of execution the priest appeared at the side of the man only to inspire him, if possible, with sentiments of repentance; that all the priestly council did was to pronounce the individual guilty and deliver him over to the secular authorities. We are taught here, in a foot note, that John Huss was placed under the custody of the magistrates of Constance, who, following the jurisprudence of the age with regard to such transgressors, consigned him to the flames.

## THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

You think that I exaggerate ; but here I read that when the Spaniards are reproached for the rigours of the Inquisition, their answer is that by punishing a few obstinate individuals they saved their monarchy from the civil wars which desolated Germany, Switzerland and Holland, and did not, after all, cause so much blood to flow as the Calvinistic reformation did. (p. 520.) That is what is stuffed down the throat of the brightest Catholic youth in this country. It is asserted here that religion had nothing to do with the massacre of St. Bartholomew, whether as a motive or an encouragement. (p. 524.) The conclusions of standard histories as to Louis the Fourteenth's revocation of the famous Edict of Nantes, which Henry IV. enacted for the protection of Protestants, are called here the language of violence, untruth, and calumny. (p. 525.)

Examine the traces of Jesuit editorship in portions of Appleton's American Encyclopædia. Look at the whitewash sprinkled sometimes thickly over many of the articles in that national work referring to Romanism. I know for what I make myself responsible ; but of late I have taken pains to examine the book, and I can say, from personal knowledge, that more than one article in it has been badly manipulated. I am not accusing the firm which issues that great work of a desire to make themselves propagandists of Roman Catholic doctrines in the country. They have allowed Episcopalians to revise articles on the Episcopacy, Presbyterians to revise those on Presbyterianism, and Catholics to revise those on Catholicism. I presume the publishers have acted in good faith towards the public ; at least, I have no reason for making charges against them, except that when scholars in ecclesiastical history—specialists like Professor Hitchcock, of New York, and like some whom I see honouring us with their presence to-day—look into these articles they find history falsified, and they find Bismarck justified in his horror when he said that the saddest sight he saw in France was the manipulation of the historical textbooks by Romish ecclesiastics. The authenticity of the following very remarkable private circular used to obtain Romish subscriptions to Appleton's Cyclopædia has never been denied.\*

"From Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, D.D., late Professor of Mental Philosophy, Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass. ; also St. John's College, Fordham, N.Y.

"New York, June 25, 1873.

"To Messrs. D. Appleton & Co.

"GENTLEMEN,—I am gratified to learn that you intend addressing a circular to the Catholic clergy throughout the country, soliciting their patronage for the revised edition of the Cyclopædia. Allow me to say this much for the articles which touch in any way on the Catholic religion,—that I have the hearty sanction of the Most Reverend the Archbishop of New York in my supervision of these articles, and his co-operation and advice at all times when any question or difficulty arises which needs the eye of authority. Moreover, so far as my own poor ability can go, I can only promise that no in-

\* See circulars and pamphlets issued in support of the rival claims of Johnson's and Appleton's Cyclopædias by their publishers.

**"CONCEALED PURPOSES OF ROMANISM AS TO EDUCATION."**

dustry or labour shall be spared by me to make every article I touch as satisfactory as it can be ; and, furthermore, that the editors are resolved that this edition shall, in every department, be distinguished by the utter absence of sectarian spirit.

"Very respectfully yours,

"B. O'REILLY.

Here is a fifth reader which I bought lately at a Catholic book store in this city, and it is full of the portraits of Romish bishops and archbishops. It is issued by the Catholic Publishing Society of New York, and in eight other cities of the Union. It forms one of the Young Catholic's Illustrated Series of Readers. Here is a good portrait of Archbishop Spaulding, here one of Archbishop Hughes, and here are Bishop Englard, Bishop Dubois, and Archbishop Carroll. The text has been carefully selected to give sectarian impressions. Here is a more advanced book, "Sadlier's Excelsior Sixth Reader," and I find it full of foot notes and of selections such as indicate the sectarian bias of the whole book. There is Fra Angelico making a picture before the Pope ; and here I turn to a foot note and read a little biography of the Most Rev. John Hughes. It is in unguarded places that the purpose of the Roman priesthood comes out, and the last sentence in this short notice of the archbishop reads : "Both by speech and pen he laboured untiringly to secure that Catholic training for Catholic children, on which the Church must, humanly speaking, depend ; and his labours are still bearing most abundant fruit." I turn on to a little notice of Mrs. Jameson, and the statement of most importance reads as follows : "Though not a Catholic, Mrs. Jameson pays graceful homage to that faith which has been the inspiration of all that is true and noble in art since the beginning of the Christian era." Just so, indeed ! Here is a notice of Shelley : "Brought up in ignorance of the true Church, his mind early rejected the incongruities which were presented to him as the Christian faith, and he fell into an absolute unbelief which has thoroughly vitiated many of his poems." If he had been a Catholic he never would have been an infidel. In a selection on "Devotion to the Blessed Virgin," I read that there is "no reason to doubt that devotion to Mary, the Virgin Mother of God, was as well known to the faithful, or that they were as fervent in its practice, in the earliest as in the latest days of the church." I ask your attention to the following important statement : "Orestes Augustus Brownson, the most original and philosophical thinker that America has yet produced."

Orestes Brownson deliberately published these words : "We wish this country to come under the Pope of Rome. As the visible head of the Church, the spiritual authority which Almighty God has instituted to teach and govern the nations, we assert his supremacy, and tell our countrymen that we would have them submit to him!"\* "Out of the Roman States," said Gregory XVI., "there is no country where I am Pope except the United States." "Popery," John Milton assures us, "is a double thing to deal with, and claims a two-

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\* "Brownson's Essays," pp. 380-383.



### THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

fold power, ecclesiastical and political, both usurped, and the one supporting the other."

Here, my friends, is a history of the United States, written by whom? The press of this country is its governor for good or for evil. The Americans are ruled, not exactly by newspapers, but by news which editors dispense to the world. A famous American newspaper has, or had a few months ago, an assistant editor, who is the author of this History of the United States of America, for the use of schools, and published with the approval of Archbishop Spaulding. I refer to John R. G. Hassard, author of a life of Archbishop Hughes. This history is issued by the Catholic Publication Society, and its introduction is written by Archbishop Spaulding. That Romish prelate says significantly in his introduction, that "he who will do most to form the character of the Catholic youth of America, will also have done most to mould the future of the American people." That opinion he bases on the rapid growth of the Romish portion of our population. With several illustrations concerning the Jesuit Fathers, we have a picture of the present state of the Jesuit mission station near Montreal. Hassard does not picture the present condition of the ruins of a convent near Bunker Hill. I do not find the charred remains of the secret passages of that edifice anywhere pictured here; and I hope that the popular violence which destroyed the establishment will be repressed and forgotten, but that the righteous patriotism which prompted that violence, and which should have expressed itself in forms of law, will never be forgotten while the overturned walls of that convent remain as a picture in the American imagination. Hassard closes his book by assuring the public that at the end of the first hundred years of the nation, the Catholics of the United States were supposed to amount to 6,500,000. This is one-sixth of all the inhabitants of the Union. Romanists in the American Republic have increased in the course of a century from one in one hundred and twenty to one in six. (p. 377). Froude is not accurate when he asserts in a recent article on the Irish in the United States,\* that the Romanists are the wealthiest and most numerous of our denominations, but this statement is likely to be true in 1900.

What if I were to call up the scholars out of the two or three thousand parochial schools in the United States, and ask them to recite? They would give us, in answer to our questions, the substance of these intensely sectarian text-books—these precious statements about the Catholic authors, these white-washed pages concerning the Inquisition, the Edict of Nantes, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew; these subtle insinuations of Catholic doctrine concerning Mariolatry and the infallibility of the Pope; these presentations of American history, in such a manner as to make the impression that the Jesuits were the fathers of the best part of our civilization. This is what we should hear from these young lips. But if Romanism does here what she has done abroad, and what she wishes to continue on American soil, pretty soon the answer you will get

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\* *North American Review*, Dec., 1879.

*" CONCEALED PURPOSES OF ROMANISM AS TO EDUCATION."*

will not be out of that book, nor that, nor that, simply because the children cannot read nor write.

The iron windows were closed by Romanism on the population of Italy and Spain. You know the story of the prisoner who had but one opening from his cell to the sky, and how that was made to shut by machinery, little by little intercepting his view of the azure, until at last he was left in the darkness. The process of shutting the windows of popular education in Italy and in Spain has gone on, historically, before our eyes. Precisely the same hands that rolled together that machinery, precisely the same secret wires that in Spain and Italy were laid under the dungeon and in the walls, are fastened upon the windows of instruction through which the Romish-American population looks. Here in Boston the windows begin to close. I say, let the spirit hands of our fathers, let all the vehement, patriotic souls of our generation, let God Almighty Himself press a hand on these windows, and open not only the single aperture, but the whole dome, until we all see God's face.

3. Romanist ecclesiastical politicians object to the Bible, and the ordinary unsectarian religious exercises, in schools, not so much because these are Protestant, as because the exercises prevent the opponents of American schools from calling them godless, and so raising a religious prejudice against them. The Protestant Bible read without note or comment, is not really opposed as teaching sectarian tenets, but as preventing the cry of irreligion.

Study well what New Haven lately resolved on after a keen debate between her Protestant and Romish scholars. There was a party represented in that collegiate city by most honoured names in favour of excluding the Bible totally from the common schools in order that the Romanists might make no objection to our management of the education of the young. That party is not a weak one among Protestants in this country. It once mastered the city of Cincinnati. I shall offend many if I say that political factions may easily connect their vote with strong ecclesiastical prejudices concerning the American school system, and that a great majority of our Romish population is in one of the political parties. I know over what blazing ploughshares I am walking; but as I am no politician, and have no political bias in what I am saying, you will pardon me for asserting that in such a city as Cincinnati, a democratic municipal Government is almost certain to be open to the manipulation of Romish ecclesiastics. That is true in New York city. I will not say it is true in Boston or Chicago; but our great towns already occupy one-fifth of the land, and the largest of them are notoriously under the control of a political party which has in it a majority of the friends of a foreign priesthood.

In New York, and Buffalo, and Poughkeepsie, the proposition has been openly and gravely and repeatedly made, that the city Boards of Education should adopt the parochial schools, support them by public funds wholly or in part, and allow Romanists to choose all the teachers. A Commissioner of Education in New York tells us that the pupils of the parochial schools are often so ragged and poorly dressed as to be hardly tolerated by the more comfortable

### THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

children of the public schools.\* A divided citizenship is one of the greatest mischiefs resulting from sectarian schools, as a united is one of the greatest blessings resulting from unsectarian.

On Manhattan island a controlling portion of the more important city offices is often in the hands of Romanists. A practical division of the school fund has occurred in New York in several cases. I do not undertake to say what will be the outcome of this interference of the Jesuits with politics; but this I know, that the Jesuit is astute enough to see that a royal court, or a king, is no longer the chief political power in the world. Romanists who value republican institutions should remember that the Jesuit can make himself as mischievous in manipulating party spoils as he once could in court intrigues. The secret whisper of the College of the Propaganda at Rome, and of Jesuits throughout the planet, is that they must learn how to approach political parties under free institutions, and they are approaching them in great cities first of all, for there the parties which illiterate men support are the most powerful.

New Haven had before her the same question which Cincinnati discussed, and she decided it in precisely the opposite way. In spite of the advocacy which a few scholars gave to the idea of excluding the Bible from the public schools, the collegiate city of Connecticut came back, not to sectarianism, not to the teaching of distinctively Presbyterian, Episcopal, or Congregationalist tenets, not to any one of the narrow views which separate the evangelical brotherhood of denominations, but to the old customs of the fathers, to have the Scriptures read and the Lord's Prayer uttered before the children. The Scriptures are read from the Protestant version, but no teacher has objection to a Romish child using a Romish version. There is nothing really sectarian in the present religious exercises which New Haven, after sharp discussion, has adopted, and yet that city has excluded from use in her schools a proposed prayer which recognizes Mary the Virgin as in some sense divine. To placate the Romanists, that prayer was really recommended by one or two astute theologians in New Haven, and this to the amazement of all America. The advice was not adopted by the city.

Shut out from public use in schools the prayers that represent sectarianism in Romanism, just as you do those which represent it in Protestantism. As I would exclude from schools any prayer recognizing the special doctrine of one of our evangelical denominations concerning baptism, although I respect that denomination greatly, so I would shut out any prayer recognizing especially the particular tenets of the Congregationalists, or the Methodists, or Presbyterians, as to church government. If any Episcopalian regards the edifice in which he worships as the only temple worthy to be called a church, and regards my place of worship as only a meeting-house, why, I would exclude his sectarian tenets from the prayers before the children. To that platform New Haven has come back after long discussion. In spite of all dissentients, I believe she deserves on this topic to set the fashion of the land. I would take large, unsec-

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\* See *Harper's Weekly*, April 16, 1875.

*"CONCEALED PURPOSES OF ROMANISM AS TO EDUCATION."*

tarian, tolerant Christianity as held in common by all Christian denominations, the Decalogue, the Sermon on the Mount, the Bible as a text-book of morals, and I would sink these, by public reverential exercises in the schools, into the youthful heart of the nation.

4. If you cannot come up to the New Haven platform, I will ask you to come up to the one next to it,—that is, to local option, as to unsectarian devotional exercises in schools, but in no case to a division of the public school fund among religious sects.

If a state like Ohio happens to be under the control of a political party that excludes the Bible from schools, has it a right to ride rough shod over the local option of Oberlin, a thoroughly Protestant town? If Oberlin wants the Bible honoured in her schools by daily citation from it, and by the use of the Lord's Prayer, has Ohio a right to say that this local option shall not be exercised? For one, I say no. You remind me that there are towns in which the local option would be against the use of the Bible. How long would these districts have superior schools? If a town or district were to throw the Bible out of its school-house, this would be usually under Romish auspices or infidel. If I could only re-arrange our population, and put the infidels in wards by themselves, and American Protestants in wards by themselves, I should be willing to allow the law of the survival of the fittest to determine whose schools are best, and whose literature, whose newspapers, whose politics, whose science. To this point American civilization must be lifted up, if we are to deliver ourselves from the slow poisoning of the land by parochial monopolies and sectarian instruction on the one hand, or by inane religious unconcern or infidel secularism on the other, in the instruction of the young.

Gambetta said in 1877 to an audience of ten thousand citizens in Paris: "Yesterday we said of clericalism, There is the enemy: to-morrow it is necessary that France and Europe should say, There is the enemy vanquished." In France the great reaction against Ultramontanism has become a political power of the first importance. Would that Germany, France, England, and the United States, might unite in such an arousal of their Catholic populations as to bring Vaticanism itself to its senses!

“Over the dumb Campagna sea,  
Where the ship of the Church heaves on to wreck  
Alone and silent, as God must be,  
The Christ walks!—Ay, but Peter's neck  
Is stiff to turn on the foundering deck.  
Peter, Peter, if such be thy name,—  
Now leave the ship for another to steer,  
And proving thy faith evermore the same  
Come forth, tread out through the dark and drear,  
Since He who walks on the sea is here!”

—Mrs. BROWNING: “A View across the Roman Campagna.”

When a boy is stretched on a table, yonder at Cambridgeport, and his back lashed till, for two weeks, the child cannot lie down on account of his wounds, the eyes of the mother and father of that

### THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

boy are very likely to be opened. His only crime was attending a public school, when the priest had given warning that he should attend the parochial. *That* under the shadow of Bunker Hill; that within sound of the guns where our revolutionary history began; that under the very towers of our foremost university; that within sight of these cultured streets of Boston; that above the very graves of Cotton Mather and of his associates in planting the free-school system in the rocky soil of New England!\*

Our Romish population is too open to the influence of American ideas not to have a tendency, at least, to revolt from extreme inculcations on the part of the priesthood. But that tendency will be carefully manipulated. The power of the confessional, the power of the pulpit in the Romish circles, the power of pastoral visitation, the awful power that belongs to men who can deny the sacraments to one who lies passing from the seen into the unseen, will all be used to draw the Romish population into the bosom of this ecclesiasticism which has crushed Italy, and Spain, and Mexico, and Lower Canada, and every country that it has long held in its coils. The tendency of the Romish population to revolt will not succeed unless it be very adroitly as well as vehemently and thoughtfully supported by Protestant discussion. The reason why I, having a little opportunity, let these facts take prominence, is that I revere the Roman laity. I know their strength in this land; I know their industry; I know their loyalty to what they regard as the best ideas. I know how reverent they are concerning religious truth in general. I respect the nation which has given to us Edmund Burke, and Charlotte Brontë, and the best parts of Calhoun and of Horace Greeley, to say nothing of the patriots, orators, and poets, all the way down to O'Connell. But the very reverence of that people, the very vehemence of its blood when it is under the control of superstition, will make it extremely hard, even on these shores, for the population to strike off the shackles riveted through centuries in the Old World. In the Irish character, in the French, in the Italian, in the German devoutness, we have not only great social forces, but inherited religious instincts, which cannot be changed in one generation. We must awaken to the care of the children, for the fathers and mothers will rarely alter their persuasions. If you put the children into merely parochial schools, and give them no strong culture, the priesthood will do here, just so far as is possible, what it has done on other shores. And so, by-and-by, some historian will lift up the picture of our mismanaged great cities; he will lift up certain corruptions of our politics as a ghastly vision; then he will tear away the picture of municipal corruption, the picture of political mismanagement, and find behind both popular ignorance, and an unlettered ballot; and he will tear away that picture, and behind the screen will be found, what? The hand on the Tiber. I say again, let God's hand push against that Tiber palm, and push it back into chaos, where it belongs.

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\* See affidavits from Catholic parents as to these cruelties. *New York Independent*, November, 1879.

*DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON'S AND CHANNING'S  
SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT.*

HARMONY with an undivorceable conscience, harmony with an unescapable God, harmony with an inerascable past ! It is self-evident that all these are necessary to the peace of the soul with its environment here and hereafter.

No system of thought can give culture rest unless there is room enough in it to allow man at his climax to stand erect.

Tennyson tells us in his "Palace of Art" that Culture passes through five stages, and that in the first three she is arrogant and self-satisfied, in the fourth she drops into despair, and in the fifth she attains some proper conception of the height of the human spirit, and of the necessity of pardon, as well as of holiness, to her peace in the universe. This man, writing not as a theologian, but simply as a severe and subtle student of the soul, emphasizes all the delights which the intellect can find in history, and art, and literature, all the keenest blisses that can come to the human spirit from the self-culture that Goethe worshipped, and which our age is as yet endeavouring to make a sufficient supply for its deepest wants. You remember how Tennyson, in a series of magnificent pictures, places before us the courts and corridors, the gleaming turrets, the marvellous paintings and statues in the palace which his soul constructed for her residence ; and how, at the end of three years, in her haughty solitude, she exclaims, in words revealing as by a lightning flash the inmost spirit of liberalistic training :

"I take possession of man's mind and deed,  
I care not what the sects may brawl ;  
I sit as God, holding no form of creed,  
But contemplating all."

This is the mood of much culture in literary and scientific circles at the present hour, and I do not know where in our American liter-

*DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON'S AND CHANNING'S*

ature to find any blow at this juvenile attitude of the soul so terrific as the one which Tennyson administers to it :

"Full oft the riddle of the painful earth  
Flashed through her as she sat alone ;  
Yet none the less she held her solemn mirth,  
And intellectual throne.

"And so she throve and prospered: so three years  
She prospered ; on the fourth she fell  
Like Herod, when the shout was in his ears,  
Struck through with pangs of Hell.

"Lest she should fall and perish utterly,  
God, before whom lie ever bare  
The abysmal deeps of personality,  
Plagued her with sore despair.

. . . . .

"She howled aloud: 'I am on fire within.'  
There comes no murmur of reply.  
'What is it that will take away my sin  
And save me lest I die?'

"So when four years were wholly finished  
She threw her royal robe away,  
'Make me a cottage in the vale,' she said,  
'Where I may mourn and pray.

"Yet pull not down my palace towers, that are  
So lightly, beautifully built ;  
. Perchance I may return with others there  
When I have purged my guilt."

In the fourth year she falls ; in the fifth she builds a cottage in the vale ; in the sixth, not wrapped up in the exclusiveness of a selfish culture, but taking others with her, she returns to her palace towers ; in the seventh she is in the attitude of Christian thought. Pardon me if I say, out of a heart full of reverence for all we have attained in literature thus far in New England, that I do not know where the evidence is that our highest poetry of the liberal school of thought has gone beyond Tennyson's third year. Some of our noblest essayists, some of our acutest moralists, are yet in that third stage, and know nothing of the seventh or sixth, and little of the fifth or fourth. The haughtiest of all our literary men has never reached the wisdom of these words of Mrs. Browning: "We want the touch of Christ's hand upon our literature, as it touched other dead things. We want the sense of the saturation of Christ's blood upon the souls of our poets, that it may cry through them in answer

### SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT.

to the ceaseless wail of the sphinx of our humanity, expounding agony into renovation. Something of this kind has been perceived in Art whenever its glory was at the fullest." \*

My purpose, this morning, is to expound agony into renovation, and show that Tennyson and Mrs. Browning are not extravagant, not fanatical, but simply sober students of the human faculties and of their environment, when they teach us that the cottage in the vale, where the soul may learn to pray and be purged of its guilt, is the supreme necessity for its peace. You know, and I know, that we are going hence soon, and that we shall be judged by other standards than those of mellow, acute essayists on this low plane of existence. You know, and I know, that what we have to settle with is the very nature of things. If our souls cannot come to peace here, when all our faculties are allowed free action, unless we have both holiness and pardon, we have no reason to believe that in any other state of existence we can be at peace with the nature of things, unless we are rid both of the love of sin and of the guilt of sin.

These poets do not seem to think that deliverance from the love of sin is deliverance from the guilt of it. Their conviction on this point appears to be the opinion of the ages. It is not the opinion of what calls itself cultured Boston. So many of us are yet in Tennyson's third year that it may be a quarter of a century before our boasted culture will reach the attitude of this "Palace of Art," one of the subtlest pieces of philosophy English literature contains. We are juvenile just so far forth as we drop below the standard of Tertullian, when he exclaimed: "*O testimonium animæ naturaliter Christianæ!*" We are so made that the soul is naturally Christian. In the very nature of things, man at his climax can have harmony with an undivorceable conscience only when reason and conscience are supreme. He can have harmony with an unescapable God only by the acquisition of similarity of feeling with God. He can have peace in the presence of his ineradicable past, only when some screen is let down between him and his record of sin, and he thus is harmonized with his entire environment.

1. Personal responsibility is a commanding reality in the relations of person to person among men.

It is astonishing how much lies capsule in every incontrovertible, self-evident truth. If, in our investigations concerning man's relations to his environment, we can begin with really self-evident truth, we cannot go very far astray so long as we keep in sight axioms. Notice that I am far from claiming that natural theology is sufficient to supply

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\* Greek Christian Poets.



### *DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON'S AND CHANNING'S*

all religious wants. I am asserting not the sufficiency, but only the efficiency of self-evident truths in natural theology. You think that I am anxious to show that all we need to know can be made clear by self-evident propositions ; but I regard axioms as a ridge in the sea—there is deep water on both sides of them. But if Manhattan Island were the only piece of land above the waves, and were itself enveloped in vapour, I should be in favour of taking possession of the reef, however deep the water might be on either side, and however much veiled in vapour, and of building there, on the little arm of land, a fleet with which to circumnavigate all the zones. I love to pace to and fro on the reef of what I call axiomatic theology, for it was on that land that I first, a storm-tossed sailor, found repose. But when I have looked at all the buttresses of the rocks, I have not finished my duty to myself. I must construct men-of-war, if necessary, or certainly commercial fleets, with which to move abroad across the zones, and sound the great deep, and ascertain the configuration of the planet. Standing on that reef as we start, we will keep on it to the end ; and, although I am willing to admit that some seas cannot be sounded by merely natural theology, I do not for an instant waver in my own personal conviction that every step we are to take on these rocks is planted on adamant.

2. It is self-evident that merit, and demerit, and responsibility, can be qualities of only voluntary action.

3. The commanding reality of personal responsibility, and of merit and demerit, in the relations of person to person among men, proves the freedom of the human will.

How colossal that conclusion is I know. But it is absolutely essential to my train of thought that I should insist upon it ; and although I cannot go here into detail, I regard the proof which has been hinted at—of the freedom of the human will—as sufficient. It was that which satisfied Kant. It was that which at bottom satisfied Sir William Hamilton. Merit and demerit are proclaimed by conscience to be qualities of our actions ; and, although conscience does not directly and intuitively perceive the fact of the freedom of the will, that fact is an inference by a single step of reasoning from the merit and demerit of actions, for you cannot deny that it is a self-evident truth that merit and demerit can belong only to voluntary action.

4. It is an entirely undisputed fact of universal human experience that, when evil is wilfully done by one person against another person among men, conscience, if allowed free action, inexorably requires that atonement should be made to the person injured.

### *SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT.*

Lord Bacon says that the way to dispatch business is to keep close to the main point, and take up only a little of your tangled topic at a time. I use numerals here that we may be forced into compliance with Lord Bacon's directions, and take up only a little at a time of our intricate theme, making one proposition flow from another.

5. Until this atonement is made, great natural laws prevent the person who has committed the injury from having peace in the presence and fellowship of the person injured.

Bring Othello and Desdemona to life, show me clearly how Iago can be at peace in their presence, and you have solved one of the profoundest problems of religious science.

Forget now all your relations to God. At present I am speaking simply of facts of human experience, and ask you to grant me nothing concerning the relations of the human soul to the Divine Being. I request only that you will test these propositions concerning the relations of person to person among men. Restore Shakespeare's Richard III. to his earthly existence, and tell me how he can attain peace in the presence of those whom he murdered.

6. The harmonization demanded consists of several distinct parts :

(1.) The conscience requires that confession should be made to the person injured ; but this is not enough to give peace.

(2.) The conscience requires that restitution be made as far as possible ; but it is a fact of experience that confession and restitution are not enough to give peace.

(3.) The conscience demands punishment for the offending person ; but confession, restitution, and punishment are not enough to give peace.

(4.) The conscience demands and produces on the part of the offender alienation from the good, or shame ; but it is a fact of experience that confession, restitution, punishment, and shame do not produce peace, when the conscience, at its best, is allowed free course.

(5.) The conscience produces remorse ; but confession, restitution, punishment, shame, and remorse are not enough to give peace.

(6.) The conscience requires of the offender the full, unforced, and glad purpose of a better life and the execution of that purpose ; but it is found by experience that confession, restitution, punishment, shame, remorse, and a better life, are not enough to give any such peace in presence of the person injured as would have existed if the wrong had never been committed.

(7.) The great natural operations of conscience are such that

*DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON'S AND CHANNING'S*

harmony between the offending and the offended person can be restored only when, in addition to the six parts of harmonization already named, mercy and forgiveness on the part of the injured person are, by some emphatic act, unmistakably exhibited to the person committing the injury.

Yonder is a woman, and against her and her husband I commit the crime of forgery, or some infamy that cannot be named. I am free. I have my senses. I confess my crime. Can I come into the parlour where the man and his wife sit, and be at peace in their presence? So far as possible, I make restitution. That is, I pay to the man four-fold the money I have taken from him; or, if the crime be of such a nature that there can be no restitution, I find that I am in the grasp of natural law, and that since restitution is impossible, all the other modes of harmonization are the more necessary. I suffer punishment. I take my place in the prison; and after months and years I return, stripping the wardrobe of my infamy from my person. But can I enter the parlour of these two and be at peace? Confession has been performed; restitution, as far as possible, has been made; punishment has been suffered. There are some who tell us that in the relation of person to person confession and restitution after crime are enough to give peace. This is not the fact of human nature. The parlour knows better than that. Socrates was accustomed to take examples from the shops of Athens—poor, commonplace illustrations out of the harbour of the Piræus—to illustrate the law of peace in the seventh heaven, and in the haven of rest, where all souls seek refuge when they are in their senses. Not Socrates, only, did this; but He who spake as never man spake drew from the metaphors of the shepherd's fold, and of the relations of father and son, wife and husband, illustrations concerning our harmonization with what we shall meet in the house not made with hands. I cannot go into this parlour, and live with this man and woman, and be at peace; but I am to go into the house not made with hands, and, if I have offended any personality there, I must live with that person. There is an Omnipresence from which there can be no flight. If, in this human house, long knives of remorse move up and down my soul, even after I have made confession and restitution and suffered punishment, what is likely to be my experience with my aroused and unescapable conscience yonder? I am quoting no proof texts; I am reading to you nothing whatever out of the records of Revelation. I am speaking here at the disadvantage of one who must throw away nine-tenths of his armour, and come out upon the fateful battle-plain equipped only with a sling and a few pebbles from the brook,

### SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT.

As I stand in the parlour of the man and woman I have injured, and look through their hearts into the soul of the Almighty God against whom too my crime was committed, I see thunderbolts against which I want a screen. I lift up Ingersoll's paper kite under those thunderbolts, and it is smitten through and through, as if it were the spider's web of the summer morning among the dew-drops of the hillside. I take Channing's shield, containing in it no doctrine of a vicarious atonement; I take his teaching that reformation is enough to give the soul peace with the eternal verities, and that when I have acquired the purpose of a new life, and have executed it, I am in harmony with God. Socrates once said to Plato: "It may be God can forgive wilful sin; but I do not see how He can, for I do not see how He ought to." I am utterly unwilling to trust my safety to Channing's shield; and my reason for that shyness is that I find human nature does not operate here in such a way as to justify me in his expectations concerning what may happen yonder.

"There is no power in holy men,  
Nor charms in prayer, nor purifying form  
Of penitence, nor outward look, nor fast,  
Nor agony, nor greater than all these,  
The innate tortures of that deep despair,  
Which is remorse without the fear of hell,  
But all in all sufficient to itself,  
Would make a hell of Heaven—can exorcise  
From out the unbounded spirit the quick sense  
Of its own sins, wrongs, sufferance, and revenge  
Upon itself."  
—LORD BYRON.

7. Such being the facts of experience as to the commanding reality of personal responsibility in the relation of person to person among men, we are forced by self evident truth, and the argument from analogy, to conclude that wherever and whenever the soul stands in relation to a person not among men, but above men, that personal responsibility continues to be an indisputable reality.

8. God is a person.

Anthropomorphic you say that doctrine is? Well, you who make God only force are hylomorphic, and that is infinitely more vile. God is not to be conceived of, you think, as a man. Nobody conceives of Him as such who holds Christian theism to be the truth. It must be that the fountain from which we proceeded was at least as high as we are; but no one knows how much higher. Descartes used to say that he was sure he was a thinker, and, as he knew there cannot be thought without a person, he knew he had personality. But he knew, also, since there is thought outside of man in the universe,

*DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON'S AND CHANNING'S*

that there is outside of man a thinker; and so Descartes was accustomed to affirm, merely on the ground of philosophy, that God is a person, because he is the author of personality.

Agassiz said \* that until it could be proved that matter does think and feel and choose, he should take the existence of thought not our own in nature as the proof of the existence there of a personal thinker not ourselves.

This was the position of Frederick the Great, who, according to Carlyle, was a sceptic in most things. But there was one form of atheism which he could not abide, and that was the idea that he who put into us thought, choice, and emotion, has not himself any thought, choice, or emotion at all.

The consequences of Concord theism, which asserts God's personality, the consequences of the doctrines of the theistic wing of Hegelianism in Germany—it is on these that I insist. The consequences of the ideas to which yonder far-rover over the seas of thought, our revered Mr. Alcott, has come, giving up pantheism and returning to theism, and assuring the public that Mr. Emerson, although unwilling to be classified strictly with any philosophical party, and not anxious to formulate his views, does yet explicitly authorize him to represent him as a theist, and a Christian theist—the consequences of this proof that God is a person, what are they? If I am wrong in representing Mr. Emerson as a theist, I shall be corrected, for the philosopher of Concord, who founded the school of theism there, is looking into my face. Be unflinching. Walk out on this reef of scientific theism, even if the waves roar to the right and the left, to the front and the rear. You are sure of certain ground principles concerning the responsibility of person to person, and you have lifted your culture to such a height that you believe that, whereas there is thought not your own in the universe, there is in it a thinker not yourself.

9. In the soul's relations to God as a person, all the natural operations of conscience have their place, whenever conscience is allowed full growth and free action.

Having discussed conscience in its details † I am in a position to draw inferences from its great natural operations; and by conscience I mean not merely man as you now see him at his best, but that soul which is the highest outcome of the law of the Ascent of Life. Where is there room for that in your system of thought? Until Christ Himself, as representing human nature, can stand erect in your mansion of philosophy, its roof is so low that man must crouch

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\* "Essay on Classification."

† See "Boston Monday Lectures," Vol. IV.

### SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT.

under it when he undertakes to obey the law of the Ascent of Life. I want a literature, I want a theology in Boston, in Concord, in Cambridge, in Andover, in Princeton, with a roof lofty enough to admit man at his climax (that is, Christ) erect beneath its arches. The public might well say to the poet whose seventieth birthday has just been hallowed by his friends, what that poet once said to the world, and what I should like to say to culture of the false sort :—

“Build thee more lofty mansions, O my soul !  
As the swift seasons roll.  
Leave thy low, vaulted past,  
Let each new temple, grander than the last,  
Shut thee from Heaven, with a dome more vast.  
Till thou at length art free,  
Leaving thine outgrown shell by Time's unresting sea.”

—O. W. HOLMES's, “The Chambered Nautilus.”

Every shell no larger than the mood of culture in Tennyson's third year will be left behind on the unresting sea of philosophy.

Our injury of a man we call a crime ; our disloyalty to God we call sin ; but, although the two things have two names, they, in the wide relation of person to person, or in what Tennyson calls the abysmal depths of personality, are the same in substance. Therefore, the same law applies to the harmonization of spirit with spirit on the two sides of the great fact of personal responsibility.

Horace Bushnell tells us that, a few years before his death, Daniel Webster, having a large party of friends dining with him at Marshfield, was called on by one of the party, as they became seated at the table, to specify what one thing he had met with in his life which had done most for him or had contributed most to the success of his personal history. After a moment, he replied : “The most fruitful and elevating influence I have ever seemed to meet with has been my impression of obligation to God.”

10. In the personal relation of the soul to God, as in any other personal relation, all the demands of conscience as to confession, restitution, punishment, shame, remorse, a new life, and an emphatic act of mercy and forgiveness, will be made in case sin is committed by the human person against the Divine Person.

11. Such sin is a fact of universal human experience.

It is too evident that many a soul brought up in the lap of liberalism has taken anodynes on this topic. You think I have taken medicine also, and that it was because I was brought up in a stern creed that I make so much of the scientific fact that man is sick and needs a physician. Yes ; but I was brought up in no stern

### *DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON'S AND CHANNING'S*

creed. No lash was ever held above my head to drive me into God's house, or even into religious instruction. So far as my youth was concerned, I was entirely free from any education that could prejudice me; for I was brought up in almost liberal circles in the very sense of the word in which you employ the term here on the three hills of this cultured city. I believe that I have given attention to the claims of liberalism, strictly so called, for it was my fortune to be educated at Harvard University, where these claims are not uttered in whispers. But the fact of sin, if a man has not taken anodynes, will stand out as a scientific, indisputable, reality. And now what are we to do with these laws of the relations of person to person, and this colossal fact of individual responsibility in such relations? God is a person; we are persons; and sin exists between us and Him.

12. It follows, inexorably, that, if conscience is allowed free course, and if, after the commission of such sin, peace is to be brought to the soul in its relations to God as a person, there must be made an atonement.

13. This must consist of or imply and produce all the several results which experience proves to be requisite to the peace of an offender in the relations of person to person among men—that is, of confession, restitution, punishment, shame, remorse, a new life, and an emphatic act of mercy and forgiveness.

I admit that this island is not a wide one, but it is a long one; and as I step from turret to turret of its rock I find no boulder likely to slip away into the howling waves, for it is a single reef, a unit from end to end and side to side, and, what is more, a unit to the very core of the world.

14. No one of these can be enough to produce peace without the others.

15. It is, however, a familiar and indisputable truth that the demand of conscience for confession, restitution, and the other necessary means of peace, including especially the emphatic act of mercy and forgiveness, are heightened vastly in emphasis whenever, in the relations of persons to persons among men, the person injured is a benefactor, father, ruler, or judge of the person committing the injury.

16. A strict application of the scientific method shows that this same principle governs the relations of man as a person to God as a person.

17. This principle acquires unspeakable weight from the inevitable natural operations of conscience, as soon as the latter allows itself

### SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT.

free action, and is brought face to face with God as Creator, Ruler Father, and infinitely Holy Judge.

Am I teaching a lax doctrine, and saying that when the atonement is accepted as a fact morality may be allowed to run wild? Not I; for natural law, expressing itself in the operations of conscience, is not changed at all by the coming into existence of some great arrangement on God's part, screening us from the past. Neither am I to be prevented from insisting on the doctrine of the atonement by popular misapprehension, to which I have replied in previous discussions \* concerning the transference of guilt. In the sense of *personal blameworthiness*, guilt cannot be transferred from person to person. No one pretends that it can be. In the sense of *liability to suffer to maintain the honour of violated law*, it can be, and the teaching of revelation is, that it has been. In the doctrine of the atonement, it is not taught that an innocent being has suffered punishment in the sense of pain inflicted for personal blameworthiness; but that Christ's voluntary sacrificial chastisement has been substituted for man's punishment.

The great Swiss historian, John Von Muller, gives the result of his life-long labours, extracted, he says, from seventeen hundred and thirty-three authors, in seventeen thousand folio pages, in this striking confession: "Christ is the key to the history of the world. Not only does all harmonize with the mission of Christ; all is subordinated to it. When I saw this," he adds, "it was to me as wonderful and surprising as the light which Paul saw on his way to Damascus, the fulfilment of all hopes, the completion of philosophy, the key to all the apparent contradictions in the physical and moral. Here is life and immortality. I marvel not at miracles. A far greater miracle has been reserved for our times—the spectacle of the connection of all human events in the establishment and preservation of the doctrine of Christ."†

18. The soul's environment in this world and the next consists unalterably of its own nature, God, and its record.

Herbert Spencer says we must be harmonized with our environment. Well, I take him at his word, and my environment consists unalterably of my own nature, and God, and my record. Can this man of theory tell me how I am to be harmonized with these things? I take Lady Macbeth on one arm and Lord Byron on the other, just after he had written "Manfred," and I will walk down here to the bench of the Ingersolls. They are silent when I ask how we three are to be

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\* Boston Monday Lectures, Vol. III.: "The Atonement in the Light of Self-evident Truth." † Professor Henry B. Smith, "Faith and Philosophy."



*DEFICIENCIES OF EMERSON'S AND CHANNING'S*

harmonized with our environment. I take the same companions and come here to the bench of the Channings. And if Julius Muller, with his stern application of scientific methods to ethical truth, looks over my shoulder into Channing's eyes, the latter go down; and so would Emerson's under similar circumstances; but so would not Tennyson's, so would not Mrs. Browning's, for they have risen to a height where Julius Muller and they agree. New England needs to lose a little of her philosophical pride; for, if you open histories of philosophy, you will find that nearly all we have ever done is compressed into six or ten pages. We think we have mastered the secret of the soul's peace with its environment. So far as Cambridge and Concord and Boston stand on Plymouth Rock, they have mastered the secret and stand on a philosophical, tremorless reef; but no further.

19. It is self-evident that man can be harmonized with his environment only by the harmonization of the soul with the three things from which it cannot flee—its own nature, God, and its record.

20. The past is irreversible.

21. Harmonization of the soul with an incrasable record of sin in the relations of the soul to God as a person can be obtained only by some arrangement harmonizing itself with the great natural operations of conscience, which govern the relations of person to person, and which demand, at least, the seven remedies already named.

22. It has just been proved that man can himself, under the laws of conscience, provide no screen for an irreversible record of sin in his relations to God as a person.

23. He must, nevertheless, face that record for ever, and God will face it.

24. The scientific necessity of similarity of feeling with God, or the new birth, results from the necessity of man's harmonization with his own nature and with God.

25. The scientific necessity of the atonement results from the necessity of the harmonization of the soul with its eternal environment by its record of sin in its relation to God as a person.

26. The atonement, of which reason can thus show the scientific necessity, is proclaimed by revelation, and by it only, to be an historic reality.

27. To those who do not accept this historical reality, the only possible outcome of a stern application of the principles of science to the discussion of man's relation to his environment, is despair.

28. That despair is the outcome of rationalistic thought when it rejects Christianity is confessed by the whole school of Schopenhauer

*SYSTEMS OF THOUGHT.*

and Hartmann, who teach pessimism, or the doctrine that this is the worst of all possible worlds.

29. Alone among all religions known to man, Christianity, without coming into conflict with self-evident truths, meets the supreme demand of human nature in the relations of man as a person to God as a person, and harmonizes the soul with its entire environment in itself, in God, and in a record of sin.

30. Alone among all religions known to man, Christianity, including the doctrines of the atonement and of the necessity of similarity of feeling with God, has the marks of a perfect and absolute religion, in that it, and it only, provides for man's holiness and pardon in a universe where it is self-evident that the soul cannot be at peace until it is delivered from both the love of sin and the guilt of sin.

Tennyson, Mrs. Browning, Julius Muller, I call to this platform, and, in companionship with these princes in the knowledge of the soul, I dare face Cambridge, and Concord, and haughty Boston, and recite here, as I have recited on the shores of both seas, my personal creed, in which I live and in which I expect to die.

On the glassy sea of green,  
Flooded with God's noontide keen,  
Can there be for sin a screen ?  
Omnipresence none can flee ;  
Flight from God to God must be.

Evermore with God must I  
Dwell in strife or harmony :  
Evermore my changeless past  
Gaze on me from out the vast.  
Thou art first and Thou art last.

O if now before Thy face  
In Thy brightness I had place,  
With the past unscreened from Thee,  
Thou, from whom I cannot flee,  
How could peace abide with me ?

Since from Thee in heart estranged,  
If, this instant, I, unchanged  
Were in Heaven, Thou, God, dost know,  
Highest Heaven were deepest woo,  
I and it are variant so.

God ! O God ! Thy likeness give,  
In and of Thee let me live :  
God ! O God ! for sin atone,  
By Thy love awake my own :  
I must face Thy Great White Throne.

## THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM; OR, THE MISCHIEFS OF A FRAGMENTARY CULTURE.

### THE PRELUDE.—IS AMERICAN INFIDELITY LIBERALISM OR LIBERTINISM ?

A cool recital of facts authenticated by official documents is all that is needed now to run a red, ziz-zag thunder-bolt through American infidelity.

1. On May 31st, 1878, a committee of Congress, in reply to a "petition of R. G. Ingersoll and others," for the repeal of certain of the national postal laws, used this language: "In the opinion of your committee, the post-office was not established to carry instruments of vice, or obscene writings, indecent pictures, or lewd books."

2. The indisputable historical authority of this document, preserving as a fly in amber the name of the foremost infidel lecturer in the United States, shows that he and others asked for "free mails;" and what was meant by this request in the opinion of a congressional committee, and why that request was not granted by Congress.

3. The same fathomlessly infamous demand which this congressional document holds up to public execration, was made by a majority of the infidel liberal leagues at a meeting in Syracuse in October, 1878.

4. A minority of the leagues seceded from that convention because of the infamy of this demand, and have since denounced with vigour the majority as representatives of libertinism rather than of liberalism.

5. Notwithstanding this secession and denunciation, the majority of the infidel liberal leagues, in a convention at Cincinnati in September, 1879, renewed their demand of 1878, concerning the repeal of certain national postal laws.

6. A convicted cancer planter, now in Albany Penitentiary for the violation of these laws, was made the hero of this Convention, and the object of a resolution of defence and sympathy, offered by R. G. Ingersoll, and declaring that he had committed "no offence whatever against any law of this country."

7. On account of the refusal of the President of the United States to pardon out of the penitentiary this convicted poisoner of youth, R. G. Ingersoll has left the Republican party, and the Cincinnati Convention of infidel liberal leagues has resolved to cast its political influence only in favour of candidates of its own principles as to the secularization of the Government.

8. The secretary of the Cincinnati Infidel Convention, and of the National Infidel party, has been shown, by legal documents quoted in a Boston infidel paper,\* to be a convicted bigamist. The felon in the Albany Penitentiary has been proved by the same paper, and by the *Religio-Philosophical Journal* of Chicago, to be guilty of enormous social crimes, and the cancer planter has himself confessed the authorship of infamous letters, which have been published to establish his guilt.

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\* See the *Index* for October 80th, 1879.

## THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM.

9. In spite of these scathing exposures of the character of its chief hero and of its secretary, the party represented by the majority of infidel leagues continues to uphold both these men, and to emphasize its demand for the repeal of established and measurelessly important postal laws of the nation.

10. The minority is the unimpeachable witness against the majority of American infidels.

11. The organization of the minority, however, has in it many officers who are also officers in the organization of the majority.

12. The minority is very feeble in numbers. It is important to notice that it is made up of only eight auxiliary leagues, while the majority has one hundred and forty-nine.

13. It is evident, therefore, that American infidelity, as a mass, means not so much liberalism as libertinism.

On this table I have a coil of knotted adders, that is, of infidel newspapers defending the poisoners of youth. Without naming any of these sheets, I propose to show you a few of the fangs of the vipers. Here I pull out of the tangled mass an adder born in Boston, and its writhing form is swollen by containing the resolutions of the Cincinnati Infidel Convention which I have been challenged to read aloud to this audience. Even when I look into a viper's fangs I shall not, I hope, be guilty of evasion. These resolutions are evasive, and so thoroughly so, that, face to face with the notorious public facts which I have just recited, I need only read them to show you how shrewd but fruitless the attempt of Ingersoll was, in preparing the resolutions, to cover up the stiletto with which it is purposed to stab the youth of the nation.

The Queen of Spain was once approached by a messenger who offered her a letter in a perfumed handkerchief. The silken scarf was loosely folded about the missive, and the wretch held behind it a stiletto. As he took the letter out and presented it to the Queen, he drew also his dagger. Infidelity seeks, under universal suffrage in the United States, to use the sacredness of the mails as a stiletto sheath through which to stab the youth of the land. The purpose seems too fiendish to be real, but its existence is unfortunately proved by the result of scores of suits brought against infidel publishers for the abuse of the mails. "Free mails" is the latest infidel watchword. The officers charged with the execution of our present postal laws have astounding evidence before them that the infidel attack on the purity of the mails does not hesitate to employ the most subtle forms of deception. I solemnly believe, as these officers unqualifiedly assert, that it is the purpose of those who clamour for the abolition of our present laws against the transmission of infamous matter through the mails, to cheat the general public, if they can, by pretending to be against the distribution of infamous publications. What the Cincinnati Infidel Convention did, was to fold a silken handkerchief around the stiletto. I will show you the stiletto first, and afterwards the handkerchief. Here is the murderous blade :

"Resolved, That we are in favour of such postal laws as will allow the free transportation through the mails of the United States of all books, pamphlets, and papers, irrespective of the religious, irreligious, political, and scientific views they may contain, so that the literature of science may be upon an equality with that of superstition."

Notice that this resolution asks for something practical. It demands the repeal of certain laws now on the statute books. What those laws are, we are to learn by the past official record of this enterprize for the repeal of the laws which infidels, and only infidels, find pinching their souls. It is, by the way, a large,

## THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM; OR,

suggestive fact, that only infidels in this country complain of the laws against the corrupt use of the mails. Speaking roundly, nobody is troubled by the postal regulations of 1873, except infidels. Their organizations, and theirs only, are convulsed with the question, whether the poisoners of youth shall have aid from the postal service paid for by the whole people. I beg you to make a distinction between the minority and the majority of infidel liberal leagues, and also between the majority and the Free Religionists. Many of the latter act with the minority, and many with the majority. But the demand of the majority has been one identical thing from first to last. They want to get rid of "sections 1785, 3878, 3893, 5389 and 2491 of the Revised Statutes" (see the petition in question quoted in full in the prelude to the 121st Boston Monday Lecture). This is what they asked for in Congress in 1878. Precisely this is what the Committee, of which Mr. Bickford was the chairman, told Congress that they could not be allowed to have, without opening the public mails to the transmission of infamous publications.

Probably, R. G. Ingersoll knew what he wanted, when he asked for the repeal of particular sections of the Revised Statutes. His petition specified the sections by their numbers. He is a lawyer. You may take either horn of the dilemma, for you must hold either that he went before Congress with a serious petition, and did not know what he was asking for, and was, therefore, shallow, haphazard, and untrustworthy in places calling for the greatest discretion; or else that he really meant what he said. In law and equity he is to be held responsible for what he asked for, namely, the repeal of the laws which prevent the transmission of infamous matter through the mails.

What the congressional petition of infidels asked for in May, the Syracuse Convention of liberal leagues asked for by its majority in October, 1878. Go behind the scenes. Look at the notorious, although obscure record of this execrable infidel enterprize. The Cincinnati resolutions of the infidel majority mean what the Syracuse resolutions of the same majority meant. The latter meant what the congressional infidel petition meant. What that meant Congress has officially told you. In every case you come back to these numerals specifying the sections of the postal laws which infidels wish to repeal, and to the opinion of Congress that these bars cannot be taken down without letting out upon us the beasts of paganism.

The first resolution of the Cincinnati Infidel Convention is the stiletto. The second is the handkerchief wound around it.

*"Resolved, That we are utterly opposed to the dissemination, through the mails, or by any other means, of obscene literature, whether 'inspired,' or uninspired, and hold in measureless contempt its authors and disseminators."*

Notice that this resolution is an expression of opinion merely. It does not call for anything practical. The first resolution does. It asks for the free transportation of "irreligious" matter through the mails. That is one of the broadest demands that could be ventured, and requires something definite in legislation. Your first resolution, infidels of Cincinnati, has teeth in it. Your second is suspiciously toothless. You say that you are against the dissemination, but are you in favour of any laws to *prevent* the dissemination of poisonous literature through the mails? If you are, you do not say so. You fail to say so precisely where you would be naturally expected to say so. This set of resolutions was very adroitly drawn. It is the deliberate official utterance of the Cincinnati Infidel Convention, and I claim that the second resolution has an enormous and most

## THE MISCHIEFS OF A FRAGMENTARY CULTURE.

significant omission in it. It does not call for any laws whatever against the dissemination of infamous matter through the mails, while the first resolution does call for the repeal of such laws. The mask put on the first resolution by the second does not deceive for an instant the officers charged with the execution of the postal laws. It does not deceive the minority of infidels themselves. The second resolution, read with the microscope, read with due emphasis on its very deceptive phraseology, read with the eye on what is between the lines in it, read with attention to the record of the majority in their congressional petition, is simply the handkerchief wound around the stiletto.

Two grave judicial decisions have been given concerning that document which the infidel hero in the Albany penitentiary has been imprisoned for circulating. Both have declared the document indictable, and its circulation actionable at law. R. G. Ingersoll rises in the Cincinnati Convention, and with immense applause, offers the following :—

*“Resolved, That we express the deepest sympathy with D. M. Bennett and his family for the reason that he has been convicted by religious bigotry and ignorant zeal, and has been imprisoned and is now languishing in the cell of a felon, when in truth and fact he has committed no offence whatever against any law of this country.”*

This resolution decisively interprets the second. It shows how much Ingersoll means by saying he is opposed to the dissemination of infamous literature. *In his opinion it is “no offence” to disseminate such literature as Bennett has been imprisoned for sending through the mails.* The whole convention of infidels adopted enthusiastically this resolution of Ingersoll's, and we thus learn how little the second resolution is worth. Elizur Wright, of Boston, president of the organization which represents the majority of infidel leagues, has repeatedly maintained in public prints the monstrous proposition that Congress has no right to legislate against any document sent through the mails, no matter what its character. He, too, is a whitewasher of Bennett.

It was my fortune to be present in the post-office building of New York city when this cancer planter, the now convicted hero of infidels, was before the court there, and the sickening evidence was being read against him. I was beginning a trans-continental trip. If I needed anything to lift me to a white heat of indignation as to the infidel attack on the purity of the mails, it was to see, as I did then and there, O. B. Frothingham and Andrew Jackson Davis sitting cheek by jowl with D. M. Bennett. Who hisses? Is there a friend here of the Albany felon? If so let him contradict me, if he can, as to a single matter of fact. Speak out. The old South has had interruptions before to-day. We have had stormy meetings here, and we will have them again if American law is not honoured. “The persistent whitewashers of D. M. Bennett,” says an infidel paper published in Boston, “will have a costly settlement to make with the outraged public.” Parton is one of the whitewashers. “The very life of liberalism,” continues the editor of this journal, “is at stake. If the great liberal body, organized and unorganized, is already too far corrupted by the poison of free love to care for these revelations, if it feels no burning, immediate necessity of speech and action in defence of its own purity and good name, if it lazily or stupidly consents any longer to be represented by the Bennetts and the Rawsons who have thrust themselves forward before the world as our ‘saints’ and ‘martyrs,’ and ‘victims of religious bigotry,’ then its damnation is coming swiftly, and care not how soon it comes. The breach between the genuine and the

## THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM; OR,

spurious is made. Let it grow wide as the Amazon and as deep as the bottomless abyss!"\*

Men are measured by their heroes. The minority which speaks thus scathingly of the majority is but a feeble fraction of American infidelity. A little while ago this editor was sowing the seeds for the harvest which now terrifies him. I think he is an honest erratic with little foresight or breadth of view. He is a pure man. I am not denying that Ingersoll in his family relations is a pure man; but here is the public action of this lecturer, here is the official record proving that the chief whitewasher of Bennett is the man who is called the Pope of Infidelity in the Mississippi Valley. Professor Curtiss, of Chicago Theological Seminary, with his superb stores of learning, has lately subjected himself, by answering Ingersoll, to the charge of using howitzers to shoot sparrows. He has shown most conclusively what no man of even moderate intelligence has ever doubted, that this man is a blunderer of the most irredeemable kind, not advanced beyond poor outgrown Paine in his knowledge of the methods by which Christianity can be attacked.† But Ingersoll is more than a blunderer. He is an apologist for the poisoners of youth. He is the public champion of this Albany felon. He is a whitewasher of convicted cancer planters. He is a petitioner to Congress for the abolition of laws which Congress says cannot be repealed without allowing the mails to mix themselves with infamy. It is the duty of the public to look beneath the surface, and not be misled by the silken handkerchief wound about the infidel stiletto.

As the Spartans exhibited to their children drunken helots to disgust them with intemperance, so I am willing to read the whole of this infamous series of resolutions as a keen and sure public provocative of disgust for infidelity.

"*Resolved*, That we call upon the Christian world to expunge from the so-called 'sacred' Bible every passage that cannot be read without covering the cheek of modesty with the blush of shame: and until such passages are expunged, we demand that the laws against the dissemination of obscene literature be impartially enforced."

That sounds like lunacy. That is pitiful and wicked pettifogging, and nothing else. It needs only a slight amount of spiritual insight, or of literary penetration, to understand the Bible, as the writer of that resolution does not, even in the passages to which reference is made. Ingersoll has told the public that he has read the Bible through since the first of January. This resolution shows for what he has read it. A farmer was met near Dayton, Ohio, by a young man who asked him how far it was to Dayton. "Twenty-five thousand miles," said the farmer, "that is, the circumference of the earth if you keep straight on. A quarter of a mile, if you turn squarely around." A knowledge of the Bible is twenty-five thousand miles from Ingersoll's present position, if he keeps right on; it is a quarter of a mile away if he turns around.

"As to the propriety of taking political action, your Committee further report that we deem it expedient for the Liberals of this country to act as a political organization for the accomplishment of the following objects, and that the following resolutions be adopted by the League:

"*Resolved*, That we mutually pledge each other that we will, in our several localities, use our influence and cast our votes for such candidates for office who publicly declare their belief in the actual secularization of the Government, and

\* *Index*, Oct. 30, 1879.

† See "Ingersoll and Moses," by Prof. Curtiss.

### *THE MISCHIEFS OF A FRAGMENTARY CULTURE.*

we recommend that the State and auxiliary leagues act together upon all political question .

*"Resolved, That we claim it the duty of every true Liberal to extend to all others every right that he claims for himself ; that he cannot politically discriminate against any person on account of religious belief, provided only that such person is in favour of perfect civil and intellectual liberty.*

*"Resolved, That the President of the League be authorized and requested to call a Liberal National Convention, to meet at such time and place as he may deem expedient, in the year 1880, to determine the propriety of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States, and to take such other political action as may be deemed expedient."*

The head of the infidel free-love viper is under the heel of what ? Of the feeble minority of cultured infidels in the United States. Do you think there is weight enough in the heel to crush the head of the viper ? What is the evidence in the case ? The editor who sowed the dragon's teeth has endeavoured to draw under his wing the liberal leagues which have sprung from his instructions. Here is his paper, and I find in it a list of eight such leagues. When I turn to the columns of a paper representing the majority which he so justly pronounces infamous, I find a whole column in fine print taken up with the names of one hundred and forty-nine leagues. The Mississippi Valley is well represented here. Professor Curtiss knows the West, and had the best of reasons for publishing his recent volume. The people whom these leagues address rarely or never go to Church anywhere. They take pains not to hear both sides. They are half-educated and mis-educated. They can be misled by discussion as utterly shallow and worthless as most of that which is published by the papers I have before me. They can be amused by papers as corrupt as this one, which is not fit to be handled with the tongs, and whose editor is in jail.

For one, I more than doubt whether there is force enough in the thin heel of the minority of American infidels to crush the head of the free-love viper which coils around the majority. What is needed is the vehement uprising of the indignant Christian sentiment of the whole land. A petition was circulated in New England, and received the signatures of hundreds of our soundest and most revered public men, against the pardon of this felon in the Albany penitentiary. There is in New York City, there is in Boston, a Society for the Prevention of Vice. Supported by the righteous laws which infidels attack, but otherwise single-handed and alone, the secretary of the New York society, who is also an agent of the Federal Government, is fighting the ghouls and ogres of the slums of our great towns all the way across the continent to San Francisco. He has strong friends, and links them to himself by hooks of steel, otherwise before now he would have been crushed by alander. He goes to his duties every day in peril of his life. There is on his cheek a heavy scar, incurred in the defence of your sons and daughters, of your schools and homes, from the poisoners of youth. One hundred and forty-nine American infidel leagues demand the repeal of the postal laws which this experienced agent, and Congress, find necessary for the protection of the purity of the mails. Let the people at large understand these facts ; and the laws and the agents who execute them will have overwhelming moral and financial support. Moncure Conway writes from England that marriage is fit only for common people. We need the linked thunder-bolts of Almighty God to purge our legislation, not only of the careless laws which now are taken advantage of in spite of the improvements we made in 1873, but to



## THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM; OR,

purge civilization itself in this country of the men and women who can applaud to the echo, as the infidel Cincinnati Convention did, an un-sexed female who said: "We must get rid of these vile, miserable, loathsome dens called homes in our land." Another applauded speaker wanted the words, "In God we trust," taken off the American dollar. Those words are written on the hearts of the American people; and you will repeal the Alleghanies, you will repeal the Rocky Mountains, you will repeal Niagara and El Capitan off the face of the continent, sooner than you can save the head of the infidel free-love viper, when once America sees its fangs glittering in the boxes of the post offices, from being crushed under the heel of national legislation.

### THE LECTURE.

HERMANN LOTZE, in a book which has but just crossed the Atlantic, closes one of the profoundest discussions of modern times by proclaiming his faith in a personal God. "The true beginning of metaphysics," he says, "lies in ethics. I grant that there is something insufficient in this expression, but I am yet convinced that I am on the right way in philosophy, when I find in what ought to be, the ground of what is. I close my investigation with no consciousness at all of infallibility, with the hope that I have not been everywhere mistaken, and for the rest, with the Oriental proverb: 'God knows the truth better than I.'" Here is the peace of high philosophical culture, face to face with all modern doubt and unrest. Lotze's philosophy, more influential than any other now in the best universities of the world, reposes on the word *ought* as itself the corner-stone of the universe. This philosophical creed is almost optimism, but not quite. It is the outcome of a long series of investigations, beginning with Leibnitz, who is not precisely an optimist, though he is often called so, and running on to Kant and Lotze. These names indicate the course of the great gulf current in philosophy, and the safest quarter in which you can launch your ship, if you desire a prosperous voyage across the vexed ocean of modern discussion.

In contrast with this calm proclamation of theism, I beg leave to place Schopenhauer and Hartmann, with their inculcation of atheism and pessimism.

It is singular how much instruction Carlyle gives us when he says that until a man has studied the portrait of an author he knows little of his system of thought. I have before me portraits of several of the renowned German professors—Kiepert, Lepsius, Curtius, Trendelenberg, Dorner, Schleiermacher, Kant—all possessed apparently of a full intellectual equipment. They are men of marvellous breadth of brain. There are five radii which ought to be studied in every man's cranial development, whether you believe in mental physiology

### THE MISCHIEFS OF A FRAGMENTARY CULTURE.

or not. From the central point of the ear draw seven radii : one to the chin, one to the tip of the nose, one to the centre of the lower forehead, one to the upper forehead, another to the top of the head, another to the back of the head, and another downward to the shoulder. I undertake to say that when you find a man with these seven radii all long, and fairly well balanced in comparative length, you will not often hear from him eccentric opinions. The seven radii are all of good length in Socrates, Plato, Æschylus, Cicero, Virgil, Seneca, Bismarck, Gladstone, Washington, Franklin, Edwards, Webster. Only wholeness and size, or quantity, quality and *balance* of being, give what Bacon calls the large, *round-about* sense, which in erratics, however brilliant, is always more or less conspicuous by its absence. There are other radii, not shown in the profile view, which are of characteristically great length in the broad German brain. I turn the page and show you Schopenhauer. A withered, narrow, eccentric man, I should judge him to be, were I to meet him on the street; a small brain, an angular cranial organisation, a face apparently that of a soured student, with considerable literary capacity, any amount of audacity, a long chin and sharp nose, a good lower forehead, but shallow upper forehead, and very unbalanced radii in the profile view.

When I sat down in Schenkel's lecture-room at Heidelberg, I found a head of just that type. Several students were before him, taking notes languidly, as if they felt his day had gone by; and yet that man is the leader of rationalism in Germany at this hour. I had seen in Julius Müller's lecture-room scores of students taking notes, as if—to use Goethe's phrase—the Holy Spirit were dictating. Dorner, whom I saw in similar circumstances in Berlin—what a head he had! what a heart he had! Surely, when I place Lepsius, or Curtius, or Kiepert, by the side of Dorner, the latter does not need any apology. Here is Trendelenberg, certainly as noble a man in all natural equipment as any of these physicists around him. Here is Schleiermacher, side by side with Kant; and you remember what a head Kant had. Schleiermacher is almost as grand in his cranial development. What I mean to insist upon is that it highly behoves students, and especially does it concern busy men of affairs, to light up philosophies by the candle of personal portraits and biographies.

Often the gap is in the training of an erratic rather than in his brain. Stuart Mill, from the very first hour of his life, was educated to oppose Christianity. Schopenhauer had no university education, and his experience in other respects was such that he naturally became bitter against the family. I have received more benefit from

*THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM; OR,*

the study of erratic men face to face than from the study of their works. I keep several shelves in my library for erratic literature, and collect there specimens of all the sharpest briars that grow in the lawless fields of thought. When I need to reply to these authors, I usually turn over a collection of their portraits and biographies, and find in some gap of organization or culture an explanation of erratic opinion. This is a rule of no infallible merit. I am not claiming that the erratic is always angularly organized, or cultured only in spots, but that he usually is. I am not claiming that there have not been erratic Christians as angular as ever any infidel was. There is a great difference between the man who is angular, but who tries to harmonize himself with the laws of the ascent of life, and with the ideal of human nature at its climax, and another angular man who fosters his idiosyncrasies as if in every particular they were a personal inspiration. There is a great difference between the angular man who endeavours to wear off his angles symmetrically, and the angular man who makes out of his angles Mount Sinai. Some men ascend the excrescences of their nature as if they were holy mounts, and sit in the mists of individualism as if communing with the flames of heaven. We have had something of that with men in New England where the radii are not of equal length.

1. Natural law permits only man at his climax to act out his nature without hindrance or mischief.

2. It is the teaching of a false culture that a fragmentary nature may follow its own impulses and not meet with hindrance from natural law, and produce no mischief in society.

3. The lapse of man from his climax is a most indisputable fact of his past and present history.

4. Any system of philosophy or theology which does not provide for the wants of human nature at its climax, is out of harmony with the law of the ascent of life, and, as a consequence, is narrow, fragmentary, and mischievous.

The objection to the philosophy once taught at Concord is that when it teaches Pantheistic self-reliance it allows and exhorts a man of low tastes and vicious passions to act freely from his fragmentary nature. Pantheism must do that, for all our impulses are divine according to the doctrine which makes everything divine. "If I am the devil's child," says Emerson, "I will live from the devil." It does not escape me that I am saying audacious things, but I hold here in my hand a number of extracts which teach not what is the

### *THE MISCHIEFS OF A FRAGMENTARY CULTURE.*

outcome of Emerson's present Theism, but what was the outcome of his former leaning towards Pantheism. \*

Some of you accuse me of teaching Emersonianism of the old sort under new forms. Not I. Under Emersonianism of the old form, when and where did you hear the law of the ascent of life emphasized? Under Emersonianism of the pantheistic type, when and where did you hear that the highest outcome of the law of the ascent of life is conscience in the individual, and the Christ in history, and that we must harmonize ourselves with man at his climax, as represented by the Christ, otherwise we can have no harmony with the law of the ascent of life, and no peace with our environment by the forces of the universe which have brought forth that law? I am obliged to throw away all proof-texts here, but those of the book of nature. The law of the ascent of life is written in flaming characters upon all the stratas of the worlds, and the outcome of that law is the conscience in man and the Christ in history. I must learn sympathy with these; otherwise nature, which has brought these forth, will crush me. Is that Emersonianism? The doctrine that if a man is the devil's child he is to live from the devil, is the doctrine that we are to rely on man when he is only a fragment. Natural law permits such self-reliance only to the whole of human nature. The doctrine of self-reliance taught by the pantheistic philosophy does not recognize the law of the ascent of life, nor man's lapse from his climax, and so is mischievous.

I am not answering Emerson of the present hour, but the Emerson who glittered in the Boston firmament twenty-five years ago—a luminary fascinating the cultured youth of the land, shedding its rays abroad into Europe, and to this moment the pole star of many circles, which look haughtily down on Lotze himself, because, forsooth, he is not a pantheist, nor pantheistic. Neither is Emerson in his final opinions. The star has turned towards us another side; and my profound conviction is that the first side which it turned towards us reflected the light from the nether fires, and that only in this last posture of the luminary do we have shed down upon us from it a few of the rays which burst out of the Great White Throne.

5. To man at his climax, or to man struggling to come into harmony with the law of the ascent of life, it is foolishness to ask whether life is worth living.

6. It is only to fragmentary natures or to fragmentary culture that this question has importance.

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\* See citations in the 131st Boston Monday Lecture.

### THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM; OR,

Without a belief in a personal God and immortality, is life worth living? That question has singular prominence among circles poisoned by materialistic philosophies.\* Hindooism discussed that question centuries ago, and decided it in the negative. There is a Hindooism in British materialism and in German materialism. Schopenhauer here, with his narrow brain, teaches us that this is the worst of all possible worlds. Hartmann says that he agrees with Leibnitz in affirming that ours is the best of all possible worlds, but that the best is so bad that it would have been better for the human race if the world had never been created at all. Hartmann and Schopenhauer are men who have carried the principles of materialism straight out into this doctrine that ours is the worst of all possible, though not the worst of all imaginable worlds.

Prof. Bowen did not do violence to a single historic fact, when in a recent incisive article† he showed that Malthusianism is the father of Darwinism, and that Darwinism is the father of Pessimism. Malthus taught that population increases in geometrical ratio, and the means of subsistence only in arithmetical. Population increases in the order of the figures 1, 2, 4, 8; means of subsistence increase only in the ratio 1, 2, 3. These being the facts of natural law, who can deny that the world will be over-peopled by and by, and that the only way for society to preserve itself is to crush its offspring. This doctrine came into existence in England just after the French Revolution, and was popular because the hard-hearted millionaires found in it an apology for neglecting the poor. On the basis of this theory in political economy, McCulloch taught that the masses of English working men must live in a state of "irretrievable Helotism." Malthusianism had great influence for about fifty years, but it was at last found out that it is only a fragment of the truth, and it is now an exploded theory in social science.

Nevertheless, when Darwin brought out his "Origin of Species," he wrote: "The struggle for existence among all organic beings throughout the world, inevitably follows from their high geometrical powers of increase. This is the doctrine of Malthus applied to the whole animal and vegetable kingdoms." One may believe in development and not be a Darwinian. The doctrine of Darwin as to the "survival of the fittest," was by his own confession derived from Malthus. This abandoned doctrine of political economy has been transferred to biology. After running a great career there, after

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\* See Mallock's "Is Life Worth Living?" and the replies to it.  
*Amer. Review*, November 1879.

† *North*

### *THE MISCHIEFS OF A FRAGMENTARY CULTURE.*

having, as it claims, mastered the world by the use of Malthusian artillery, the same doctrine has transmitted itself to theology, and the outcome is the teaching of Hartmann and Schopenhauer, that this is the worst of all possible worlds.

This doctrine is no sounder in theology than it was in biology, and no sounder in biology than it was in political economy, and in the latter science the doctrine is exploded.

Schopenhauer's and Hartmann's ghastly creed, however, has great power in Germany to-day, but not with the leaders of thought. There is not a single official chair in Germany that teaches the doctrine of pessimism, and yet we have sickly girls in men's clothing who call themselves pessimists even in England and New England. Culture pretends that it has come to know that this is the worst of all possible worlds.

Here is the giant Alexander von Humboldt, broad-brained, and of almost universal culture in physical science. In philosophy he was himself a pessimist. He stood on Chimborazo. He ascended Teneriffe. He wrote the *Cosmos*. He also agreed with Lord Byron in these words of the latter :

"Count o'er the joys thine eyes have seen,  
Count o'er thy days from anguish free;  
But know whatever thou hast been,  
'Tis something better not to be."

Mainlander, one of the bitterest defenders of pessimism, supports his position by this citation from the recent memoirs of Alexander von Humboldt: "I was not born to be the father of a family," says Humboldt; "I regard marriage as a sin. I despise humanity in all its strata. I foresee that our posterity will be far more unhappy than we are. Should I not be a sinner, if, in spite of this insight, I took care to leave a posterity of unhappy beings behind me? The whole of life is the greatest insanity. If, for eighty years, one strives and inquires, still one is obliged, finally, to confess that he has striven for nothing and has found out nothing. Did we, at least, only know why we are in this world? But to the thinker everything is, and remains a riddle, and the greatest good luck is that of being born a flat head." This philosophy is the outcome of a court fashion, and of grave defects in philosophical training, in a man of almost universal genius and attainments in physical science.

President Porter has lately discussed Professor Huxley's careless but haughty book on Hume,\* and shown that it is the work of a tyro.

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\* *Princeton Review*, November, 1879.

### THE DESPAIR OF ATHEISM.

The account which Huxley gives of the contents of the mind is so fragmentary, so strangely narrow and partisan, that it, of logical necessity, ends in atheistic or agnostic errors.

Lotze is the proper respondent to Humboldt—Lotze, cultured in physiology, as well as in philosophy, and graduated from both the philosophical and the medical departments, and himself a teacher in both. Lotze has ascended the Teneriffe and the Chimborazo, and obtained some glimpses of the Cosmos of a complete culture, and as perhaps the least fragmentary, is the most sound of the representatives of recent philosophy.

7. The chief error of the culture of our time is its fragmentariness and want of harmony with the law of the ascent of life. The specialization of modern professional studies produces narrowness of outlook.

8. Those teachers will be found to be the soundest who are the least fragmentary in native endowment and in training.

9. Erratic teachers are usually fragmentary, either in their natural endowments or in their training. Fragmentary philosophies and fragmentary heads often go together.

10. A fragmentary philosophy lies at the basis of materialism.

11. A fragmentary philosophy leads to atheism and to pessimism and despair.

12. The demand that culture shall recognize man's lapse from his climax, and make room for the law of the ascent of life, is therefore of supreme importance in philosophy as well as in religious science.

13. The inevitable result of the course of thought here outlined is to place Christ in the foreground of culture, and to make Him who was man at His climax, and the highest outcome of the law of the ascent of life, the supreme leader in philosophy as well as in faith.

Is that Emersonian culture? It is Tennyson, rather, when he prays to be delivered from—

“A twilight culture lighted through a chink.”

—“Harold,” Act III.

## CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

### THE PRELUDE.—SPOILS AND FRAUD AS CAUSE AND EFFECT IN POLITICS.

OUR fathers in the Mayflower began their famous political compact with the words, "In the name of God. Amen." Daniel Webster was accustomed to call this sentence the first clause of the American Constitution. The most important change now taking place in our politics is the slow and sly erasure of these old words, and the substitution for them of certain new ones: "In the name of party. Amen." It is high time that we should make a distinction between the nominal and the actual supreme law of politics in the United States. The people rule nominally; really, they do not often have the power of nominating officers. The people count votes nominally; really, the counting is done by political managers. The people are supreme nominally; but really they have little more than a veto power on nominations made in party caucuses.

A thousand years ago\* the Norsemen came sailing up the Boston harbour in shallops, each one bearing on its prow a wolf's head; and on its sail a painting of a great cormorant raven. The Norseman reached America before the Puritan. In politics the former is stronger here to-day than the latter. If we are to have a proper motto for the accursed partisan spoils system in American politics, we must go back from the organizing and redemptive constitutional utterances of our fathers in the Mayflower, to the hoarse war-cry floating out over the Massachusetts coasts hundreds of years earlier, from the Norse shallops, the Norse robbers, the Norse wolf, the Norse raven: "In the name of pelf and power, in the name of force and fraud, in the name of theft and Thor. Amen." This Norse raven flies side by side with the Puritan dove in this country; and if ever she wearies and sinks towards the earth, the Norse wolf is ready to snap at her with his fangs. The glittering of his lawless eyes is fascinating to those who love audacity more than veracity. The Norse wolf is more truly the emblem of our inner political life than the camp-fire of the Pilgrim Fathers, intending to frighten this wild beast away. Both the good and the bad elements in our civilization are thrust to the front in every important and closely contested election. The nominal American political constitution is Puritan; the real is Norse. There is one bird on the side of Norse America which cannot be matched on the side of Puritan America. The American eagle belongs to the Puritan side; but the American ostrich, with her thin, wilful head in the sand, and her addled wits thinking that her whole body is covered!—this emblem of stupid guile seems to be the proper symbol of much of the inner life of partisan politics of our time, whenever great prizes are at stake and the spoils are given to majorities.

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\* Bryant's "History of the United States," Vol. I.



## CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

What constitutes anarchy under American institutions? The refusal of any lawful minority, however large, to submit to any lawful majority however small. How long has it taken to educate the Anglo-Saxon race into a submission to a lawful majority of one? Two thousand years. What other portions of the race have been educated into this political self-control? No other portions of any large extent. Where are we, therefore, in every closely-contested election, when much is to be lost or won by a small majority? Why, balancing ourselves on a knife ridge, as Alpine climbers do when they stand at the summit of mountain ranges, with the heel in Italy and the ball of the foot in Switzerland. What is there to throw us out of balance? More and more every year with the growth in size and fatness of the political spoils we carry in our arms, as we stand on the giddy granite blade of small majorities. At a public reception of a Governor of Massachusetts, President Seeley quotes a military officer of high position as expressing the opinion that in the United States we have had our last President elected by the people.

In this building, town meetings were held which shook the British throne. In yonder historic gallery George Washington stood, looking down on this hall after its desecration by British troops, and it was he who warned us against the perils of party spirit under universal suffrage. I doubt whether with all the foresight of his patriotism, he had in view, even in his farewell address, such terrific temptations as now assail parties in the United States. I doubt whether our fathers, when they had the supreme courage to oppose Great Britain, and extend over the whole continent the principle of the Massachusetts town meeting, foresaw what strain would be put on that principle by our very greatness in territory, in population, and in wealth. In 1770 a town meeting sat in this house until after dark, while Samuel Adams went to and fro from the assembly here to Governor Hutchinson at the State House, and demanded, in the name of the people, the exclusion from the city of certain regiments who had been implicated in the Boston massacre. In November, 1773, a town meeting remained under this roof until after candle-light, and when a messenger came from the governor to say that certain teas at yonder wharf could not be sent back to England, Samuel Adams arose here and remarked that the meeting could do nothing more for the peace of Massachusetts. At the doors of this house the warwhoop was then raised; at the side of this building citizens disguised as savages began their march to the tea ships; and the tea was thrown into the sea, while, as Carlyle says, rebellious Boston, witnessing the act, was so silent that you could hear through the town the ripping of the chests. There was a town meeting thoroughly understanding itself, to the skirts of the audience. Nothing could be done in it in the dark. Men faced each other. Chicane could have no great field in so small an assembly, and where the local record of every speaker was known.

The town meeting of the early New England history is the very basis of our American institutions; but we begin to see that the principle of the town meeting extended over the continent is tried under a new set of circumstances. Our fathers foresaw some of these, but did they foresee them all? Are we not to-day under this historic roof called upon for a courage, willing and eager to walk out on the stern adamant of principle, as courageously as our fathers walked out on it? What are we to throttle? Not the British throne. What have we to take by the neck? Not exactly a king, and yet a power which at this moment I believe to be as oppressive in this country, and as lawless as ever King George was in the old colonies, the power of political managers acting as party men, and distributing the people's offices exclusively for pay for partisan services,

## *CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.*

Let George Washington come back to this gallery ; let Adams and Hancock and Otis appear again beneath this roof. In their presence let us humbly make this torturing, whispered confession :

1. The frequency of elections under the American term system, the vastness and complication of interests involved in our national political contests, the size and fatness of the partisan spoils at stake, have brought into existence in the United States a class of political managers who are strictly party men, and whose controlling purpose is to advance the interests of party rather than those of the people.

2. The political machinery which is managed by these party men has already been so used as to take from the people in most cases the power of nominating public officers.

3. It leaves the people, in many elections, only a veto power on the nominations of a party caucus.

4. The counting of the votes by which this veto power is exercised has often been in the hands of merely party men.

5. Whole cities and States, and, indeed, a whole political party in a national contest, claim that they have been disfranchised by political trickery, and the will of the people defeated by fraud in the counting of votes.

6. Great as these evils are, they are only a prophecy of greater to come, unless public sentiment is aroused to correct the mischiefs of the partisan spoils system.

7. The spoils are now 100,000 civil service officers, who are turned out or in with every change of parties in possession of the executive chair at Washington.

8. The population of the country doubles every twenty-five or thirty years, and soon there will be 200,000 officers to turn out and put in.

9. Recent events show that the honesty of third and fourth-rate politicians will not bear this strain, and that in closely contested elections so much fraud will occur that parties will not trust each other to count votes under the forms of law.

10. The remedy is not in the limitation of the suffrage, unless by the reading test, nor in despair of republican institutions, nor in a constitutional monarchy.

11. The remedy is in diminishing fraud by diminishing the temptation to it, that is, by the destruction of the partisan spoils system which takes the people's offices, and distributes them to party men to pay for merely partisan services. The reform of the Civil Service is the only effective political method of reducing the power of party men to safe dimensions. Instead of changing 100,000 or 200,000 men every time parties change, why not adopt the principle of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson—turn out no man for merely partizan reasons, re-arrange only the leading officers in the Civil Service, and so change not more than 500 men or 1,000.

12. But even this remedy will fail unless the press, platform, parlour, and pulpit unite in putting under the ban of permanent public and social execration the political tricks which disfranchise the people.

What is Mexicanism ? Ask Maine. Ask Louisiana. Ask fifth-rate politicians in any party when they are driven into a corner and can escape only by trickery. Mere politicians are party men. Statesmen are people's men.

The Governor of Maine and his council, acting as a Returning Board, have disfranchised five cities and a score of minor towns. Taking advantage of every possible legal quibble and technicality, they have counted a large Republican majority out, and a large Democratic and Greenback majority into the legislature of a proud New England State. They do not deny, and no one doubts, that they

## *CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.*

have reversed the popular will of that commonwealth. I hold that the Governor has in these proceedings not obeyed the law of Maine, and that the proof he has not, is as visible as the noon-day. He says that a "mildew and an epidemic have strangely fallen on the principal cities of Maine;" vital defects have occurred in the form of their official returns of the expressions of the will of the people: their votes could not be legally counted because they were not legally attested. How could this mildew fall exactly on Republican towns and not on Democratic? It is a question that shrewd New Englanders and the whole nation will ask whether political mildew has in it the power and potency of self-direction. There is here a kind of partisan magic which few are likely to admit as a straightforward explanation of this curious conspiracy. I deliberately call late events in Maine a conspiracy, because it is admitted that the officials who sent abroad the circulars on which returns were to be made, arranged them as traps for signatures, so written as not to give validity to the returns. A circular is printed with three blank lines for signatures, when five are required; and then, when that return comes back to the very officer who secured the printing of the defective blanks, a holy horror is expressed that there are not more names on it, and the return of votes is counted out. If a few t's are not crossed and i's not dotted, the facts are of colossal importance on the one side, and not important at all on the other. All this happens according to the new philosophical theory as to the power of self-direction in political mildew!

The open explanation of the Maine imbroglio is that great stakes are soon to be set up and competed for by political parties in the national field, and that electoral votes are at auction, not in Utah only, as a Mormon authority has lately told us, and as we knew before he uttered the hideous whisper, but in California and Maine.

The Governor of Maine acts under such State laws that he cannot be reached unless he is impeached. He manipulates the returns of elections, reverses the result the people intended, counts out a legislative majority of his opponents, and counts in a majority made up of his friends. He can be impeached only through the legislature, and his party controls that. If he can hold out long enough, perhaps the electoral vote of Maine may be counted in 1880 for his party. The electoral vote from that single State may determine the result of the next Presidential election. In that the spoils of 100,000 civil service offices are at stake. Here is the centre of the Maine conspiracy. Who moved the Maine puppets? Ask the most desperately reckless of the politicians who are pushing the fortunes of certain aspirants to the next Presidency. Threatening as a cloud of political trickery obscuring the fair fame of a New England State is in itself, it is yet more threatening as a prophecy. Cipher despatches, and investigating committees, and political intimidation in great tracts of the Southern States, and attempts to repeal the laws securing the purity of the ballot-box in Federal elections, humiliate the United States when the partisan system has only 100,000 civil service offices on which to fatten itself. What will happen when it has 200,000 or 300,000?

Do I excuse Louisiana? Was the Presidency on sale there, too? Am I ready to say that the Republican fifth-rate politicians were not guilty of fraud in that State? Not I. Mr. Blaine ventured to affirm that the Louisiana returning board acted according to law; and fraud in Louisiana is no excuse for fraud in Maine. I am not here to defend or offend any political party. But there was no Democrat to watch Republicans in Louisiana, as there was no Republican to watch Democrats in Maine. Is it not in courts of law an established principle

## CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

that both sides shall be heard, and that no man shall be judge in his own case, and that the disinterestedness of judges shall not only be a fact, but a manifest fact. None of these legal principles were observed in Louisiana ; none of them in Maine. Here is the American ostrich, her head in the sand, and her confidence apparently serene that she is not visible. There is an audacity in American political guile, a shallowness, a kind of boldness of stupidity, which would be amusing if it were not painful, and if there were not at stake in its issues the very life of the foremost Christian republic of all time.

We are full of the audacity and haughty arrogance of our Norse fathers. Our fibres are growing finer under the American stimulating physical and political climate. But when you unite Italian finesse with the Norse audacity you make a black angel incarnate. There is something in the American temperament that loves outspoken audacity in carrying through schemes in politics when great prizes are at stake. There is something in us that makes us far more tolerant than our English and German ancestors ever have been of foul play when it clothes itself with a little intellectual brilliancy and the forms of law. "Foul play or fair play our man must win : " that is the motto of Mexicanism. "We must satisfy the opposite party that our proceedings are fair play, and while we thus satisfy our opponents, we have a right to do what we legally can for our man ! " that is the motto of American liberty. The former watchword is being substituted for the latter. In 1880 we are likely to see stupendous applications of the former principle of party rule, unless we speedily raise public sentiment to a height represented by the messages of our President on Civil Service Reform.

American political managers are led by the spoils placed before them. It is said that at Paris balloons were drawn by eagles. The huge silken bubbles were lifted off the earth, and the powerful birds lightly but firmly harnessed to them. Each balloonist, while floating through the air, would hold fresh meat at the end of a long wand before his eagles. Straining after it, they drew the balloons. This is a symbol of party politics in this country. When an aeronaut wished to ascend, the meat was held above the eagles ; when to descend, it was held below them. Parties must exist under free institutions here. I am willing the eagles should be fed, but not that the voracious birds of separate balloons careening side by side and neck and neck, should strain not only after their own food but for that of their neighbour, and the balloons be thus brought into collision, and the aeronauts dropped into chaos.

The American people are told by party managers that a vast array of political machinery is a necessity in our government, and that the masses are too blind and busy to understand the details of great national affairs. It is true that our civilization is threading a complicated mountain pass. The shrewdest of experts can hardly understand the complicated issues of a national political campaign, I have heard of a traveller in the tropics who, in a black midnight, was forcing his horse across a mountain, when the animal reared and nearly unseated its rider. The man spurred on the horse, and again the animal reared, and at that instant a flash of lightning revealed a tremendous precipice in front of the two. The horse had dumb instincts better than those of his rider. The horse had an eyesight keener than that of the man in the saddle. When the flash came in the sky the man was unseated. So I hold that the American people, ridden by eager partisan politicians, can see precipices in the dark better than the riders. All political gangs of men who care for the interests of party more than for those of the people, will be unseated just so soon as a flash of God's judgment comes into our sky, and shows us the precipice of misrule on which we are standing.

## CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

Maine and Louisiana are pebbles which I toss over a precipice of unknown depth, in the political mountain passes which we are threading. Whoever throws these facts of flint over the cliff, and listens to the sounds which accompany their fall, will be convinced that there is before him a chasm of tremendous depth. Give me a day in this country when a majority of one legally attained will not give peace to the land, and I will show you a day of great political danger, a day which cannot easily be governed exclusively by the precedents of our fathers, but that must be met by new arrangements, by reforms which we are to institute, by amendments to our custom, if not to our fundamental law, such as the modern danger of our only dimly foreseen greatness itself dictates. The vastness of our opportunity is the chief source of our perils. *Within fifty years the wealthiest nation on the globe will lie between Plymouth Rock and the Golden Gate. The spoils which Cæsar distributed were not so fat and vast as those which will be within the reach of our partisan political managers before another century closes.* There was a candidate in Maine whose name was Burnam, and because one letter was loft out of his appellation, in the official return of a grave New England election, the vote for him was rejected by his political opponents. If that is to be a symbol of what is to come in the United States under partisan political management, we may well quote Macbeth in a sense which Shakespeare did not intend :—

*"Fear not till Birnam wood*

*Do come to Dunsinane. And now a wood  
Comes toward Dunsinane. Arm! arm! and out!  
If this, which he avouches, does appear,  
There is nor flying hence, nor tarrying here.  
Ring the alarum bell! Blow wind! Come wrack!  
At least we'll die with harness on our back."*

## THE LECTURE.

PLACE on the hand a glove and close tightly the fingers and palm. If you see the glove for the first time in the position which it will then have, it will be very difficult to tell of what it is made in the concealed inner portions. The brain is a similarly folded glove. Although we may study the external surface, it must be confessed that its midmost and bottom convolutions are not open to popular observation. Here is the great difficulty with all schemes of mental physiology, depending on merely experimental tests of the surface for knowledge of the brain as a whole. After all that Sir William Hamilton wrote about the varying depth of frontal sinuses, and after all we have been told of the varying thickness of the walls of the skull, the chief difficulty in the study of the brain, by observation of its surface, is plainly that as the glove cannot all be reached when the hand is shut, so the brain cannot all be studied from the outside, it is so folded upon itself. The most important business of Mental Physi-

## CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

ology is to open this palm in which whole philosophies as to the conduct of life in every department lie hid. Within the last twenty years, this hand, holding the most important secrets of culture, has been slowly unfolding. Although the unspeakably precious philosophical fruit which the palm has in it has not yet dropped, science is nevertheless in a condition to proclaim as established several great propositions as to the physiology and functions of the brain.

1. Excitation of certain definite regions of the brain produces certain definite physical movements.

Here is a dog, and you give him chloroform and remove the cap of his skull. The brain is exposed. It throbs beneath your gaze. You now take an electric battery, and blunt the ends of the wires connected with it, so that they will not injure the tissues with which they come in contact, and you touch with them various parts of his brain. You ascertain by repeated experiment that certain definite regions respond to electrical stimulation, and produce in the muscles of the animal certain definite motions. Here on the brain of the dog, near the top of the head (illustrated on the blackboard), is a spot which I cannot touch without the hind leg of the animal moving as it does in walking. Here is a second spot which you cannot stimulate by electricity without the fore leg moving in the same way. Here is a third spot which you cannot touch without making the dog bark. "Each time the electrodes were applied to this region," says Prof. Ferrier, in his fascinating account of his experiments on this point,\* "the animal uttered a loud and distinct bark. To exclude the possibility of mere coincidence, I stimulated in succession various parts of the exposed hemisphere, producing the characteristic reaction of each centre, but no barking. The re-application of the electrodes to the mouth centre elicited the barking, and did so invariably several times in succession."

I take a rabbit and give it chloroform, and arrange the brain as you did that of the dog, by removing the skull and exposing the throbbing surface of the cranial substance. I apply the electrodes to point after point. There is in the rabbit a much larger development of the olfactory nerves and ganglions, than even in the dog, and so we find in the former an animal governed by its sense of smell. The dog is superior to man in this particular sense. In spite, however, of the various differences between the brains, I find the corresponding spots producing the same effects when touched by electricity. Here I apply that marvellous agent (illustrating by a drawing), and the hind feet of the rabbit are moved ; at the second place, and the front

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\* "Functions of the Brain," p. 150.

### *CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.*

feet move; at the third, and although the rabbit does not produce an audible sound, its jaws and lips stir as though it would do so if it could.

Certain centres of the brain, under the application of the electricity, are like the keyboard of a piano. You know that you will produce a given sound when you touch a given key; and so you know, by persistent experiment, that when you touch a given spot on the brain, you will produce a given motion. If this has not proved that these centres of the brain are in some way connected with these motions, what can do so?

2. At least fifteen centres are fully proved now by repeated experiment to give rise to certain definite motions.

3. Most of these centres are in the middle portion of the brain.

4. Large parts of the front and rear of brains do not respond to electrical stimulation.

It is conceded, I know, that you may injure the brain more or less when you take off the cap. When you apply even a blunt electrode to a spot on the tissues of the brain, you may disturb the circulation in the minute vessels of the cranial substance. There may be a diffusion of the electric current through the substance of the brain. There is, therefore, as some think, room for two theories here. The whole fruit has not yet dropped from this folded palm. Experts are divided in opinion as to whether there is a definite localization of functions in these spots, or whether the brain, acting as a whole, concentrates its influence on the spots whenever electricity stimulates it, or when motion is produced naturally. Under either of those theories, however, there will be a localization of functions in the brain. If you can prove by negative as well as positive evidence that these spots are connected with the given motions, you will establish beyond all controversy the doctrine which has now been in debate for fifty years, that functions are localized in the brain. The negative evidence is abundant, and is much of it furnished by the human brain itself.

5. Destruction of these definite brain regions already mentioned causes complete and enduring paralysis of the corresponding movements.

At the spots where I placed the electrodes on these exposed brains, suppose disease to occur. Science can make post-mortem examination of human brains, and in doing so it finds in man the same motor centres which I have just pointed out in animals. Here (illustrating by the crayon) is a human brain which, on post-mortem examination, is found to be diseased at the spot corresponding to the one of which

### CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

the stimulation produced, in the case of the dog, a motion of the hind legs. If the disease goes far enough there will occur in man a paralysis of the lower extremities. If the second of the spots just discussed be the place where the softening has occurred, the man cannot move his arms. If the third spot is diseased, he cannot speak.

Take again the dog under the influence of chloroform, and cut into the cranial substance. Destroy thoroughly the first of the three centres named, and you find that the dog loses all power to produce the movements before described. You cut away the second centre, and the second set of motions cannot be produced. The evidence obtained thus by destroying the centres corresponds entirely with that derived from stimulating them. What can prove the localization of functions, if experiments like these, persistently repeated, cannot do so? "In monkeys," says Prof. Ferrier,\* "destruction of those regions, excitation of which gives rise to definite movements of the limbs, causes paralysis of the voluntary motions complete and enduring, and restricted to those very movements the centres of which are specially destroyed. What is true of the monkey is strictly true also of the man."

It would be easy to recite pertinent illustrations of those propositions until another day should dawn. You think that I may lack material; but I have again and again crushed into a paragraph what I would gladly have expanded into a lecture. I have always thrown away five times as much matter in this lectureship as I have used. But I beg you to read Ferrier, especially this very last book of his on "The Localization of Cerebral Disease." It is full of exactly outlined representations of diseased brains. Read also Ferrier's now celebrated work on the "Functions of the Brain," so often cited here in lectures on Biology and Heredity. Do not omit Dr. W. B. Carpenter's book on "Mental Physiology," nor the highly important work just given to the world by Professor Calderwood, of Edinburgh University, on "The Relations of Mind and Brain" [holding up copies of the three books mentioned]. President McCosh has lately commended the latter volume in the *Princeton Review*, as abreast with the learning of the time and free from fanciful theories. Prof. Calderwood's discussion has in it, of course, no materialism, and is an excellent antidote to the tendency of Prof. Bain's books in that direction.\*

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\* "Localization of Cerebral Disease," p. 21.      † See also Laycock's "Mind and Body;" *New York Medical Journal*, March, 1875, p. 225; and especially three valuable articles by Dr. W. G. Dodds, *Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, Vol. XII.



## *CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.*

6. By both positive and negative evidence, therefore, the weight of authority in physiological science now supports the doctrine of the localization of functions in the brain.

It may seem that I pass with undue rapidity over points of commanding interest, but I am omitting illustrations only, and not principles. The whole domain of mental physiology I wish to draw into the bosom of religious and ethical science. I throw away here tempting opportunity to discuss anatomical details that I may save time for more strictly theological themes. I ask you to investigate for yourselves, until you are convinced, that the positive evidence of actual stimulation of the brain centres, and the negative of disease of them, agree in proclaiming that there is in the brain, as in other parts of our organization, a localization of functions.

7. Out of the great doctrine of the localization of functions in the brain, thus made a part of established science, what follows? Phrenology! Not yet. I say not yet, for I do not know but that a new and revised phrenological map may some day come from thorough modern investigation.

It is no part of my purpose this morning to defend the pseudo-science of phrenology. I am not an utter disbeliever in the outlines of it, neither am I an utter believer in it. It is, of course, everywhere confessed that Gall and Spurzheim made great advances in physiological science, and that their method of unfolding the brain instead of slicing it was a discovery of the very highest consequence. This has been of late years admitted by all authorities. In advance of their time, they were right in proclaiming the doctrine of the localization of functions in the brain, and of the effects of quality and quantity and of temperaments in organization. It is the conviction of established science now, that these anatomists did not sufficiently recognize the fact that the brain is a folded globe, and that the inner portions of its substance can not be satisfactorily studied by external manipulation. The smaller divisions of the phrenological map are by no means a part of established science.

With these cautions against being misunderstood, I proceed to come dangerously near to what you may think extravagant doctrine, and yet I go no further than this successor of Sir William Hamilton, Prof. Calderwood, goes; no further than Ferrier goes; and not as far as Prof. Alexander Bain. In the books of the latter, there is an estimate of phrenology rather too favourable, as most severe judges think.

8. It is everywhere conceded that the brain is the organ of mind.

9. The doctrine of temperament is a part of established science.

## CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

In discussing heredity and marriage, it was my fortune to insist on what you may have thought erratic doctrine, concerning the temperaments, which have various names, such as lymphatic, sanguine, bilious, and nervous. These terms are all employed by Dr. Carpenter, shrewd, slow conservative as he is. They deserve to be made a part of every-day knowledge, and we ought to be able to tell, at a glance, the great temperaments and their mixtures. If there are four principal temperaments, there are more than twenty-four mixtures of them. It is high time that the independent platform should place emphasis just where science does on the laws of heredity.

10. Although smaller subdivisions of the cranial mass are in debate, it is conceded that the intellectual, the moral, and the social faculties, have their localized separate seats in the brain.

"The development of the frontal lobes is greatest in men with the highest intellectual powers, and taking one man with another, the greatest intellectual power is characteristic of the one with the greatest frontal development. The phrenologists have, I think, good grounds for localizing the reflective faculties in the frontal regions of the brain, and there is nothing inherently improbable in the view that frontal development in special regions may be indicative of the power of concentration of thought and intellectual capacity in special directions." \*

11. It is conceded concerning the larger divisions of the brain, as well as in regard to the brain as a whole, that, other things being equal, size is a measure of power.

12. Quality, however, is as important as quantity.

There may be no more matter in a large brain with shallow convolutions, than in a small one with deep ones finely folded. You may have a large brain finely folded and of fine quality, and its power will be out of proportion to its size, although its size may be great. The combination of size and quality is what you are to seek if you are to find in organization the best expression of power. It is exceedingly important to insist on the proposition that quality is as important as quantity. Let no one think, however, that finely-folded convolutions are all that are necessary, for the brain of the whale is more finely folded than that of some men, but the quality is not equal to that in the human case, and so the fineness of convolutions is not always a proof of genius.

Pure air, God's sunlight, the dews of heaven, may give the child of the country-side a fineness of organization not indigenous in cities.

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\* Ferrier, "Functions of the Brain," p. 288.

### *CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.*

So intellectual effort, art, high culture, may refine the city child, not in manners only, but in texture. We have had quality coming out of the hills of Scotland, and from the peaceful rural slopes of New England, that you do not find easily in cities in average circles, especially when these latter have been jaded and stunted by overwork, or more or less tainted by dissipation. There may be a coarseness derived from self-indulgence on the part of wealth that will utterly incapacitate rich men's sons from competing with the poor man's, but the fine hair, fine skin, the signs of sensitiveness, are signs of quality.

13. It is conceded that the stronger faculties easily combine with each other.

14. It is conceded that in the brain, as in other organs, growth results from exercise.

15. It is conceded that balance of organization is the pre-requisite of unforced harmony of action in the faculties.

16. It is conceded that every faculty has its correlate in the external world.

It is here that we reach a height from which bursts upon us a landscape, portions of which stretch far beyond the powers of exploration possessed in our age by any philosophy.

Notice the large olfactory nervous bulb in the brain of the rabbit. Do you ever find any animal with such an arrangement as this in its organization, and with nothing outside of itself to match it? Here is a most marvellous structure, arranged for the purpose of perceiving odour. Is there not in the external world something existing as a correlate of that portion of the animal's organization? You have here the argument from correlation on which I have insisted so often, and on which I now lay emphasis in a new relation. Every organic aptitude, you admit, has its correlate in the external world. But how vast is the sweep of that principle! If any one here is afraid of the argument of correlation in its full application, I beg him to notice how perfect the proof is that all the lower human faculties have something outside of them to match them. But if the lower, why not the higher? Here are organs of hearing, and pulsations of air adapted to them. You have in man the capacity of perceiving the beautiful, and there is beauty to be perceived. You have in man a faculty by which he can understand the relations between cause and effect. There are such relations in the external world. In the whole lower and middle range of the organic faculties, I claim that there is not one which has not its external correlate to match it. If I can go through every one of the inferior portions of the brain, and show you

### CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

that in the external world there is always something to match all the faculties localized in the lower portion of the cerebral substance, what right have you to claim that, if higher faculties have their seat in the higher portions of the brain, they have no correlate to match them in the external world? Here you are, men of science; here you are, sceptics; and all I ask of you is, to carry out, in a straightforward manner, an established scientific principle. Admit for the higher, as well as for the lower organic endowments of man, that every faculty has its correlate. Immense conclusions follow from a straightforward application of the law of correlation to the facts which prove the localization of functions in the brain. To prove that a faculty has a well-defined, fixed organic seat in the brain, is to prove that it is an organic faculty. From every such faculty we may reason to the existence of its correlate.

It is agreed that the intellectual faculties are connected with the front part of the brain. But we have as distinctively a moral nature and a social, as an intellectual, and we exercise the former as well as the latter through the brain. The former have organic seats as truly as the latter. If I put my hand on a nervous bulb giving the sense of odour, you say that I have proof before me that there is odour in the external world to match it. If a part of the brain enables us to perceive the relations of cause and effect, I shall find that there are such relations in the external world. *Carry this invulnerable principle unflinchingly into the field of the higher faculties.* Why am I not giving good proof that there is a God, when I show you that we are physically endowed with organs which are the seats of faculties by which we irresistibly worship and feel a sense of obligation to a Power above us, and our dependence upon that Power? Every fully-organized man has in him these faculties, and somewhere they are provided in the brain with a local seat. It is not necessary for me to know where, any further than the established general doctrine of the localization of functions in the brain points out. From a keen perception of odour by any animal, I may safely conclude that it possesses nervous apparatus for such perception, even if I do not know where the apparatus is. Or conversely, from the nervous apparatus I might prove that the power of perception of odour exists, and has something to match it. So with the vivid, moral perceptions of man.

It is a part of man's nature to worship; a sense of obligation belongs to him as naturally as a hand or an eye; and there must be a correlate to match this faculty.

17. The existence of a faculty proves the existence of its correlate.

18. But there is in man a definite faculty for the apprehension of

### CULTURE AND MENTAL PHYSIOLOGY.

the connection of cause and effect, and so we have a right to be certain that cause and effect exist in the eternal world.

19. A definite faculty exists in man, prompting him to worship a Supreme Being, and we have a right to be certain that such a Being exists.

20. A definite faculty exists in man, prompting him to obedience to moral law, and allowing him no intelligent peace, except in such obedience; and we may, therefore, be certain that a moral law exists, and that obedience to it is necessary to our peace with our environment.

21. The religious truths thus taught by physiological science, as to the conditions of man's peace, are the same with those taught by ethical science and by revelation.

22. *It is self-evident that peace and health of soul are unattainable unless every faculty is harmonized with its own correlate, and with all the correlates of its companion faculties.*

23. The law of the ascent of life also applies to the domain of mental physiology, and shows that peace can come only from the harmonization of man's entire nature with his whole environment.

24. Culture, therefore, is to return to the Greek ideal as to the development of body and brain, and to the Christian for that of the soul, and will find Hellenism and Christianity as harmonious with each other as pedestal and statue.

"Peace I leave with you. My peace I give unto you. Not as the world giveth, give I unto you." "These things have I spoken unto you, that My joy might remain in you, and that your joy might be full." These, indeed, are texts out of the Holy Word of Revelation, but they are also texts out of the depths of the book of the nature of things. They are flaming passages out of the slowly opening pages of these fateful human faculties from which we cannot escape, and which have correlates with which they must be harmonized, and from which we cannot flee. Here, as everywhere, axiomatic theology lifts aloft the wide illumination of the self-evident truth, that two cannot walk together unless they are agreed. Here, as elsewhere, axiomatic theology proclaims the necessity of our harmonization with the law of the ascent of life. These things saith Mental Physiology, another name for the Divine Revelator, that in harmony with self-evident truth ye might have peace; and that in the Christ by whom the brain, and Orion, and all the hosts of the outer heavens of the stars, and the inner heavens of the soul, were arranged under law, ye might have joy, and that your joy might be full.

*CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA;" OR, THE VALUE  
OF SECRET PRAYER.*

THE PRELUDE.—DISLOYAL MORMONISM.

BLUEBEARD asks for a seat in the Senate. He stands with one hand locking the door of his chamber of horrors, and with the other he knocks for admission to the supreme legislative assembly of the foremost Christian republic of all time. He has stood in this attitude for twenty-three years, and is becoming importunate.

How large is the territory over which the Mormon Bluebeard exercises sway? Here is a superb iron relief map of the United States, kindly lent to me, from among their wonders of illustrative apparatus, by the New England School Furnishing Company.\* Its sections are divisible, and I take up Utah in one hand and Vermont in the other, and place the latter on the former. It is literally true, as you notice, that Vermont can be hidden away in one of the valleys of Utah, and be no larger than a babe in a bed of full size. Utah has 84,476 square miles of territory; Vermont only 9,612. I take up Massachusetts, and find that I can hide her away in one corner of this polygamous couch. You say that I am too suggestive in my metaphors, and yet this is your territory—directly under the control of Congress, and its legal condition depends upon national legislation, as much as softened wax depends for its form upon the fingers which manipulate it. This territory, under your laws, sends to Congress a polygamous delegate, who sits down at the side of your representatives on equal terms.

We are poorly perceptive, in the East, of the capacities of the region called the Basin States. Take up Idaho, or Arizona, or Nevada, regions into which Mormonism is extending its political power, and observe how small Massachusetts is, placed anywhere on these gigantic stretches of the mining districts and the pastures between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevadas [illustrating]. Here is Professor Brewer's map of the forests of the Union [referring to Walker's Statistical Atlas of the United States, open on the platform], and I beg you to notice that a thickly wooded region occupies great portions of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming. Colorado has a large extent of forests, not as dense as those of Oregon, and Wisconsin, and Maine, but still, as this map shows, about equal in density to the woods that cover Ohio and Indiana. Utah, as you notice, has more forests than Nebraska. I beg you to study Professor Hayden's fascinating map of Colorado, a piece of the finest geographical work ever done in

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\* A. R. Beal, Manager, 31, Franklin-street, Boston.

*CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA;" OR,*

America, or anywhere in the world [referring to the new government map of Colorado, open on the platform]. You will find in it at a glance, proof that Colorado and Utah are not deserts. We think of the Basin States as if they were a dry land where no man is, and in which no great multitude of human beings can ever find a prosperous home. This spotted tract of yellow [referring to the map of Colorado] represents a stretch of sage brush. When irrigated, that land is tropically fertile. This other shade of yellow represents good pasture land. Here grows the strangely nutritious buffalo grass, which amazed me by its sweetness when I plucked tufts of it near Cheyenne. On the rivers where the colour deepens, you have good agricultural land. But notice the large stretch of forests along the skirts of the mountains. The different colours of green show the pines, the cedars, and the quaking aspens. If you look at the other indications on this map, you will find whole tiers of counties underlaid with coal, and these mountain ranges thickly sifted in all their rifts with iron, silver, and gold. The same is true of Nevada and Utah. The silver mines of Utah have yielded 40,000,000 dollars worth of ore in the last ten years. A Salt Lake daily newspaper publishes five columns of mining news. The American Blue-beard rules over the American Potosi.

Put your ear, then, on the Wasatch hills; listen to the subterranean conspiracies in politics at Washington; fasten your attention on the throbbing of the heart of Christian America, and summarise, if you can, this whole Mormon case in a series of propositions, one flowing from the other.

1. The present anti-polygamy laws of the United States do not make polygamy an offence in all cases, but only polygamy which is not yet three years old. The statute of limitations bars prosecutions for polygamy after three years from the date of the ceremony of the polygamous marriage.

2. Weak and toothless as this law is, it remained a dead letter on the national statute books, until the decision of the Supreme Court in the Reynold's case proved it to be constitutional.

3. Under the present law, the leaders of the Mormon hierarchy who took plural wives more than three years ago, cannot be prosecuted. The Mormon delegate in Congress, unless he has taken a fifth wife within three years, cannot be reached by this enactment. In practice, polygamous marriages take place in Utah every month, are kept secret, and the violators of the law expect at the end of the three years of concealment to confess the marriages and laugh at the law. Judge Van Zile, of Salt Lake City, whose opinion is everywhere respected among the Gentile population of Utah, lately said: "Removing the limitation clause, and making polygamy a continuous offence, is my pet measure. As it is now, an old man marries a young girl secretly, lets her live with her parents three years, and then claims her, and snaps his fingers at the officials."

4. The present national laws against polygamy have another weakness, in the fact that they require evidence of the ceremony of a plural marriage as proof of polygamy. The ceremony usually takes place in the secrecy of a Mormon Endowment House, and trustworthy evidence as to what is done there cannot be obtained from a Mormon before a Gentile jury.

Not long ago a Mormon official was imprisoned three days for refusing to reply to questions put to him on cross-examination before a Gentile jury about a ceremony performed in a plural marriage in an Endowment House. When the time of punishment was over, a vast procession of Mormons met him at the prison doors, to welcome, as they said, Daniel from the lions' den. That collection of the followers of the false American prophet trampled the American flag

### *THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER.*

under their feet, within three days of the time when I saw the streets of Salt Lake City, and the tremor which their disloyal proceedings had caused, was felt not only there, but from side to side of the Union, wherever the news was understood.

5. It has been proved by the confessions of apostate Mormons, and by the experience of Federal Courts in Utah, that the oaths taken in the Mormon Endowment Houses are considered by Mormons to be of paramount authority over any oaths taken before a Gentile Court under State or national law.

6. It has been proved by long experience that the Mormon Endowment House is a nursery of disloyalty.

The new Endowment House in process of erection on the Temple area in Salt Lake City, is surpassed by not more than two or three buildings on this continent in cost and magnificence. It has narrow windows and walls of granite nine feet thick. It looks like the Bastille of Cologne Cathedral, without its towers. It may in fifty years become serviceable as a State House for a loyal legislature, but whoever sees it will not be likely to conclude that Mormonism is to vanish in an hour.

7. The oaths of the Mormon Endowment House cannot be violated without penalties which extend from the confiscation of goods to the severance of the wind-pipe.

Brigham Young was often profane in the pulpit, and sometimes made there a gesture intended to symbolize the cutting of the throats of apostates. "They are wicked men," he would say, "and they ought to be cut off;" and with these words he would draw his hand across his neck with the extended thumb rubbing against the throat, and the secret police well understood his meaning. You say I am here trespassing on the region of the imagination, but I hold in my hand an important document, just issued at Salt Lake City, entitled "The Mormon Endowment House, a graphic exposure of the Treasonable Institution where polygamous marriages are solemnized. By an eye-witness." Judge Boreman, who sent it to me, writes on it in his own hand, "All apostate Mormons say that this statement is true, and I learn through private sources that the Mormons admit its correctness." According to this document, four grips are given in the course of the ceremonies in the Endowment House. As I read here, "the penalty for revealing the first grip is that you will have your throat cut from ear to ear, and your tongue torn from your mouth. The sign of the penalty is drawing the hand, with the thumb pointing towards the throat, sharply across the neck." (P. 6.) What did Brigham Young mean by this gesture repeated again and again in public a week or two before certain secret murders? The penalty for revealing the second grip is, "to be sawn asunder, and your members cast into the sea. The sign of this penalty was drawing the hand sharply across the middle of the body." (P. 6.)

When the chief power of the Mormon church is summarized in one man like Brigham Young, and he says that the followers of Joseph, the son of Joseph Smith, who do not believe in polygamy, should be cut off, and makes these definite gestures before an audience who have all gone through a Mormon Endowment House, is that anything you can laugh at, my surprising friends? This is your territory. This is what has happened under your sweet and holy laws! The graves of those who have been buried in Utah after secret murders are so numerous that, with the Federal Judges of Salt Lake City, I believe that if the winding sheets of these victims could be put together into one banner, the shadow of the black flag would cover half Utah. Twenty years after the Mountain



CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA;" OR,

Meadows Masacre, John D. Lee, one of the principal tools of the Mormon priesthood in that ghastly slaughter, expiated his crimes by his execution on the spot of their occurrence; but men more guilty than he yet go in Utah unwhipped of justice.

8. Were it not for the presence of Federal troops in Utah, to-day these penalties, including the death of apostates by what is called Blood Atonement—that is, the shedding of the blood of an apostate to save his soul,—would be executed by the priesthood, as they were executed in the bloody years of the supremacy of Brigham Young.

Blood Atonement Brigham Young preached from the pulpit again and again, and not in rash extemporaneous language. The utterances of Brigham Young concerning Blood Atonement, were fully reported by stenographers, and then revised and pruned by his own secretary, and published in the official Mormon newspaper in Utah; and not only there, but in the *Journal of Discourses*, a Mormon publication issued at Liverpool. Judge Cradlebaugh, on the floor of Congress, read passages out of these speeches, and they are cited at large in the best books on Mormonism.\* This measurelessly monstrous doctrine was not only preached, but again and again, in the days when Mormonism was isolated from the Federal power, Blood Atonement was practised by those who thought that the shedding of the blood of an apostate was the only way to save his soul.

9. It is evident from the experience of the Federal Courts in Utah, that the laws against polygamy need amendment in three respects.

(1) Polygamy should be made a continuous offence, existing as long as the parties live together as man and wife.

(2) The statute of limitations should not begin to run until the parties cease to live together.

(3) Living together as man and wife, and recognizing each other as such, should be sufficient to warrant conviction. No ceremony should be required to be proved.

10. But Mormonism, as based on the Endowment House oaths, has two tap-roots,—polygamy and priestly despotism, the latter supported by the tithing system, the police system of spies, and the power of life and death.

11. *Under a state constitution prohibiting polygamy, the second of these chief roots would still exist, and it would exist even if there were passed an amendment to the national constitution prohibiting polygamy.*

12. Admitted to the Union under state and national constitutional provisions prohibiting polygamy, Utah, manacled by this priestly despotism, with its tithing system, and the power of life and death, would have a Mormon governor and state officers, and Mormon state judges. Every murder, and like felony in the state, would be tried before these judges, and before Mormon juries.

13. It is the opinion of the Federal judges now in Utah, that this state of circumstances might not only prevent all future trials of Mormon murderers, but inaugurate a reign of terror.

14. Gentile mining, smelting, railroad, and agricultural operations, under a Mormon Governor and Legislature, would be taxed so as to become unprofitable. Gentile schools and churches would be so discriminated against by the State law, that they would cease to exist.

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\* See Stenhouse, "Rocky Mountain Saints," p. 299.

## THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER.

15. This aspect of the Mormon question has great significance for those who are giving money to establish Gentile schools and churches in Utah. At present, there is no security and no certainty that these institutions will be allowed to exist in Utah as a state under the theocratic power of the Endowment Houses and the Mormon priesthood.

16. An amendment to the National Constitution prohibiting polygamy, although useful and desirable, would, therefore, not be sufficient to settle the Mormon question. If Utah were admitted as a State with the theocratic power of her priesthood unbroken, Mormonism would yet live on that second tap-root. Such a Constitutional amendment prohibiting polygamy might tempt political parties, in need of the electoral votes of Utah, to admit her to the Union with her disloyal Endowment House oaths in full power over the people, and by being used as an excuse for an enabling act, and blinding the public to the actual perils of the case, work positive mischief.

17. Effective legislation against Mormonism must cut both its tap-roots, and, therefore, the legislation needed should strike both at polygamy and at the disloyal hierarchy supported by the tithing system and the disloyal oaths of the Endowment Houses.

18. President Hayes proposes to Congress the disfranchisement of Mormons for violating the national laws against polygamy, and also disfranchisement for aiding and abetting those who violate these laws. In detail,\* the President recommends the establishment by Congress of a Board of Registration, consisting of the Governor of the Territory and the judges of the District Courts, or persons who should be appointed by them. The duty of this Board would be to inquire as to the qualifications of every person who desired to vote in any election, or to exercise any of the rights or privileges of citizens. Something like the following examination would take place, as President Hayes thinks :

Are you a Mormon ? Yes.

Are you a practical polygamist ? No.

Do you support or countenance any one who is a practical polygamist ? No.

Are you a member of the Mormon Church ? Yes.

Do you pay tithes for its support ? Yes.

Who are the officers of the Mormon Church ? John Taylor, George Q. Cannon, and others.

Are they polygamists ? I do not know.

On such a showing as this, the President thinks the Registration Board would have to refuse the applicant. President Hayes hopes that by applying such a test as this Gentiles only would be able to be registered. According to his plan, no one not registered would be allowed to vote, or hold any office under the United States, the Territory, or local government, or to sit on juries. Under these arrangements juries could be trusted, and the Territory would be taken out of the hands of the Mormons. One of the first results which the President expects would flow from a political revolution in Utah, such as he would bring about, would be the election of a Gentile legislature which would act in harmony with the Governor of the Territory. Little by little, under a pressure like this, the President thinks that not only polygamy, but the payment of tithes, would soon become very unpopular among the Mormons in Utah. † Prominent Gentile residents of Salt Lake City have assured him that neither the institution of plural

\* See New York *Tribune*, December 26th, 1879.

† See New York *Tribune*, December 26th, 1879.

*CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA;" OR,*

marriages, nor the theocratic power of the church, could survive five years under this proposed legislation, which may God bless and speed !

19. There are two parties among the Mormons, one a radical party representing the hierarchy, and the other a conservative party, made up of men of business and property, who would have much to lose by a collision with the Federal power.

20. President Hayes's plan strikes at the tithing system as well as at polygamy. It is calculated to divide against each other the Mormon church by bringing the radical and conservative parties into direct open antagonism, and is therefore admirably adapted to break up the power of the disloyal hierarchy.

21. This plan has the vehement approval of Federal Judges in Utah ; and without its execution, their opinion is that the Gentile population there under a state government would have no adequate protection in respect to life, property, and education. The Mormon population of Utah is now estimated at 150,000 by the Mormons themselves, and the Gentile at only 10,000 or 12,000.

22. It is not likely that a Congress which allows a seat to a leprous polygamist, will legislate on the Mormon question as the case requires ; and, therefore, the duty of the press and pulpit and independent platform is to arouse public sentiment, and bring it up to the height of demanding the practical measures recommended by the Federal Judges in Utah and by the National Executive.

Over the gate of Brigham Young's grounds in Salt Lake City, there is a rude representation of an eagle, striking its talons into a beehive. This is an excellent symbol of Mormonism,—rapacity preying on industry ! I have much sympathy with the beehive ; none at all with the eagle. I pity the Mormon people ; and because I foresee for the Basin region a great future, I wish the talons of the voracious hierarchy to be taken swiftly out of the honey gathered in Utah by the energy of these peasants, brought over from Europe. But the symbol above the gate is not complete. You must wind around that humming straw hive some emblem of the Mormon, secret, deadly police. Let a viper with poisonous fangs coil around the hive, and take his directions from the eagle above him, and your symbol is more perfect than it was ; and yet it is not complete. You must add the bird of the night, the owl, which often lives, it is said, in the same hole with the rattlesnake. This winged creature will represent the subtlest misleading element in Mormonism,—priestly fanaticism, the solemn pretence of possessing individual access to God's secrets, personal inspiration, the idea that God speaks through the prophet, the revelator, and seer at the head of the Mormon hierarchy. There is one other bird that must be added, and the symbol will be complete—the strutting barn-yard fowl, emblem of polygamy. Mormonism is the poultry philosophy. The Latter Day Swindle arranges human beings as if they were poultry. It gives women, not a home, but a harem and a coop.

The Bible in favour of polygamy ! Orson Pratt, when he had a debate on that topic, admitted that he depended on modern revelations for the ultimate defence of plural marriages. The Jews to-day are not a polygamous people, and they have no sacred guide but the Old Testament. It is perfectly well understood that the regulations concerning polygamy in the Old Testament were intended to girdle the tree and make it fall ; and it has fallen with the very people who take those Scriptures as their only authority. The unscriptural, the loathsome, and the lawless thing in Mormonism is polygamy. The highest of the

## THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER.

ecclesiastics in the Mormon hierarchy, when they are forced to entire frankness, say that they know polygamy is to be defended because of modern, rather than by ancient revelation. "Thou shalt not take one wife to another to vex her," this is the true sense of a law in Leviticus (chap. xviii. verse 18). "God shall make of these twain," and not of more than twain, "one flesh." Divorce adapted to the hardness of men's hearts, was, indeed, permitted, but it was not so from the beginning. The nature of things, the mysterious Divine law which brings the two portions of the human race into the world in substantially equal numbers, is the proclamation of the Divine origin of monogamy. When the Mormon ecclesiastics have opportunity to reach out their loathsome hands into the sweet homes of Scandinavia, Belgium, and France, and the peasant population of England, and pluck thence the brightest flowers, they may find that polygamy is not assailed as a monopoly. But what if there could be no such supplies from sources outside of their own circles? What if the course of immigration did not alter the natural distribution of populations, and polygamists were to depend on the law of co-equal heredity? If they were to be called on to supply their own circles, it would be found that, of all the accursed monopolies on the earth, polygamy is the worst, for it takes away from thousands the opportunity of founding homes in order that the few may riot in debauchery, under the thinnest of religious disguises.

If there is anything that ought to call down on the American people the thunder-bolts of God's justice, it is laughter, indifference, cool political calculation as to the chances of parties when electoral votes are for sale in Utah; it is bargaining with this strutting, polygamous fowl; bargaining with this eagle who is striking his talons into the beehive; bargaining with this viper which coils around the feet of the birds who are his mates; bargaining with the whole loathsome group, and bringing them into the Union to keep company in a happy family with the Puritan dove! God avert such a result!

You think that by holding the blazing lantern of Christian schools before the eyes of these birds, you can frighten them away; but are you sure you are to have the opportunity to hold the lantern there after Utah comes into the Union? I have defended the cause of Colorado College. I wish to-day to lift up my voice, feeble as it is, in support of all enterprises for Christian schools in Utah. But there are great and indispensable preliminaries to the success of these institutions. Once admit Utah to the Union, even with polygamy prohibited by the State, and the National Constitution, and let a Mormon hierarchy, with a tithing system, and the power of life and death, manage affairs under State rights, and these schools for which you are paying money will be starved to death and taxed out of existence. These are the opinions of Federal judges in Salt Lake City. These views accord with letters from Utah hardly dry from the hands that spread the ink upon the paper, and which I might read here. These are the secret solemn convictions of those who have studied the great problem on the spot. It is for us here, on the Atlantic seaboard, to join hands with the oppressed population of the Basin States, and so arouse the patriotic and Christian sentiment of the whole land, that any political party which bargains with that group of birds, and with that viper, shall be crushed under the heel of public execration.

*CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA;" OR,*

THE LECTURE.

CHRIST'S fears were not those of liberalism. His agonies were not those of Boston advanced thought. But His beliefs were the source of His fears and of His agonies. It is certain, therefore, that His beliefs were not those of liberalism. The latter has no bloody sweat. The human nature of Christ represented man at his climax. His conscience, therefore, and the fears and the agonies which proceeded from it, must be taken as a scientific indication of what the human conscience itself will tell us when once man is brought into harmony with the highest outcome of the law of the ascent of life. Christ's fears for man were that he would not be delivered from both the love of sin and the guilt of it. These two fears are precisely those of the very nature of things; for it is self-evident that without harmony with God and conscience and our record, we cannot be in peace with our unescapable environment. These two fears produced Christ's bloody sweat, and yet He conquered both fears without adopting any belief out of harmony with the nature of things. He attained peace. His yoke was easy; His burden was light. But only He, in the whole history of the race, and such as have followed His method, have done this. The method of Christ and the secret of Christ are historically proved to be the only sources of peace when all the faculties are aroused and harmonized with the law of the ascent of life. Christianity, therefore, and it only, is in harmony with the absolute religion or the self-evident truths of the nature of things.

It is the joy of my life to defend what I call axiomatic theology—that is, the cans and cannots of the nature of things as revealed by self-evident truth. Axiomatic theology shows that mind is not matter; it thus answers materialism. It demonstrates that death does not end all, even if it cannot prove literal immortality. It establishes the supremacy of conscience, and shows that we can have no harmony with ourselves until we acquire harmony with the moral law pointed out by the moral sense, and with the God who is behind that law, and with the record of our own sins, on which that law places greater and greater emphasis the more we love what God loves and hate what He hates. Axiomatic theology thus applied to philosophy is the uprooting of agnostic, atheistic, materialistic, and pessimistic

### THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER.

speculations. As applied to religious truth, axiomatic theology demonstrates the necessity of similarity of feeling with God to peace in His presence. Applied to our record in the past, it proves the necessity of an atonement; and although it does not pretend, from the point of view of mere reason, to prove that an atonement has been made, it does establish the certainty that an atonement is needed, and therefore the shallowness of all schemes of thought which do not contain that multiplex, undergirding truth, encircling the entire universe of moral speculation. Axiomatic theology points out the law of the ascent of life. By applying that law to theology and ethics it proves that the soul, with all its faculties allowed free growth and action, *cannot* have peace unless it is harmonized with the Highest in itself, that is with Conscience, and with the Highest in history, that is, with the Christ. There is thus established a philosophy concerning the conditions of man's peace, and its conclusions from self-evident truth are entirely harmonious with the Scriptures themselves. Axiomatic theology can be systematized. It begins with principles of common sense, taken for granted in legislation, and behind counters, and in juries, wherever men reason. Axiomatic theology can be preached to scholars, for the supreme principles of self-evident truth are those on which all scholarship depends in every science. Axiomatic theology can be preached to the people, for self-evident truth is that which underlies the proverbs of the nations, and is the basis of common-sense everywhere.

Under the guidance of history, and of philosophy, but with the Bible shut, I might know, therefore, that I need the new birth and the atonement; but allow me to open the Bible for once, not as a book inspired—although I hold a high and severe theory of inspiration—but as a volume which, under the law of the survival of the fittest, has come down to us through all the turmoil of time. Let me read a few of the cans and cannots of this volume, and in my secret meditation here, now closing, let me ask if philosophy and Scripture agree. “*Can two walk together except they be agreed*” (Amos iii. 3)? So asks the Scripture; so asks the nature of things. “Who in heaven *can* be compared with the Lord; who among the sons of the

mighty *can* be likened to our God" (Ps. lxxxix. 6)? This is sense; this is philosophy; I believe this is inspiration; but it is certainly an appeal to the cans and cannots of the very nature of things; and therefore, a part of axiomatic theology. "How *can* man be justified with God" (Job xxiv. 4)? This is a question suggested by the cans and the cannots of self-evident truth. "The carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed *can* be, so then they that are in the flesh *cannot* please God" (Rom. viii. 8). "No man *can* come to Me, except the Father which has sent Me draw him" (John vi. 44). "No man *can* serve two masters" (Matt. vi. 24). How axiomatic! What an appeal to the first principle of self-evident truth, that a thing cannot be and be at the same time and in the same sense. "Ye *cannot* serve God and Mammon." This is the parallel of the certainty that a door cannot be open and shut at one and the same time, either in this world or the next. I begin to feel my feet on adamant. They stand on these cans and cannots of axiomatic theology, that is of self-evident truth. "Whosoever forsaketh not all that he hath, *cannot* be My disciple" (Luke xiv. 33). This also is attested by self-evident truth. If the dagger of a rebellious spirit be hidden in the wardrobe anywhere, even if it be a small weapon and apparently concealed, a man cannot stand in peace before the Great White Throne. Any rebellion is dissonance, and dissonance is not consonance. In the very nature of things, while dissonance exists there cannot be similarity of feeling with God, and without that there cannot be peace in His presence; for the soul cannot serve at once two masters. "Abide in Me, and I in you. As the branch *cannot* bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in Me" (John xv. 4). "*Can* any hide himself in secret places that I shall not see him? saith the Lord" (Jer. xxiii. 24). "Between us and you there is a great gulf fixed; so that those which would pass from hence to you *cannot*: neither *can* they pass to us, that would come from thence" (Luke xvi. 26). This is the final *cannot* of our Lord, and His first *cannot* was, "Except a man be born again, he *cannot* see the kingdom of God" (John iii. 3). But the supreme cannot of Revelation, the one that summarizes all the rest, is the doctrine that there is One who is the same yesterday, to-

*THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER.*

day, and for ever, without variableness or shadow of turning. It, the very nature of things, is He; and "He cannot deny Himself" (2 Tim. ii. 13).

You have allowed me to look into history and philosophy and the Scriptures; will you allow me to look into literature? You open that author who has taught our literary men in New England more than any other writer on the other side of the Atlantic. You take the book which was the inspiration of New England transcendentalism for years, Carlyle's "Sartor Resartus," and turn to the passage entitled the "Everlasting Yea," in which the storm-tossed man describes his own early conflicts as to religious truth. It is confessed that "Sartor Resartus" is very largely an autobiography.

"Often also could I see the black tempest marching in anger through the distance; around some Schreckhorn, as yet grim-blue, would the eddying vapour gather, and there tumultuously eddy, and flow down like a mad witch's hair; till, after a space, it vanished, and in the clear sunbeam your Schreckhorn stood smiling grim-white, for the vapour had held snow. How thou fermentest and elaboratest in thy great fermenting-vat and laboratory of an Atmosphere of a World, O Nature!—Or what is nature? Ha! why do I not name thee GOD? Art thou not the 'Living garment of God'? O Heavens, is it in very deed Hæ then that ever speaks through thee; that lives and loves in thee, that lives and loves in me?"

This is Carlyle's proclamation of his belief in a personal omnipresent God, and it was his adoption of theism which first untied the knot which choked him.

"Fore-shadows, call them rather fore-splendours of that Truth, and Beginning of Truths, fell mysteriously over my soul. Sweeter than Day-spring to the shipwrecked in Nova Zembla: ah! like the mother's voice to her little child that strays bewildered, weeping, in unknown tumults; like soft streamings of celestial music to my too exasperated heart, came that Evangel. The Universe is not dead and demoniacal, a charnel-house with spectres, but God-like, and my Father's!"

This does not sound quite like Pantheism. The passage proceeds to speak of the Christ as teaching the doctrine of the sanctuary of



CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA;" OR,

sorrow. In other places,\* Carlyle tells us that this worship, however degraded now by false followers of it, is never to pass away; and finally the autobiography bursts forth into this supreme psalm of triumph:

"*Es leuchtet mir ein*: I see a glimpse of it!' There is in man a *Higher* than Love of Happiness; he can do without Happiness, and instead thereof find Blessedness! By benignant fever paroxysms is Life rooting out the deep-seated Chronic Disease, and triumphs over Death. On the roaring billows of Time, thou art not engulfed, but borne aloft into the azure of Eternity. *Love not Pleasure*: LOVE GOD. *This is the EVERLASTING YEA, wherein all contradiction is solved: wherein whoso walks and works, it is well with him.*"

"Meanwhile, what are antiquated Mythuses to me? Or is the God present felt in my own heart a thing which Herr von Voltaire will dispute out of me? or dispute into me? To the '*Worship of Sorrow*' ascribe what origin thou pleasest, *has* not that Worship originated and been generated? is it not *here*? Feel it in thy heart, and then say whether it is of God! This is belief; all else is Opinion—for which latter, whoso will, let him worry and be worried."

Yield utterly to God, and there shall come to you an inner witness assuring peace both to the heart and to the intellect. That was Luther's principle of certainty. I should have been better pleased had Carlyle been more analytical in his philosophy; had he said something of the law of the ascent of life, had he spoken distinctly, as he does by implication, of the doctrine of the sanctuary of sorrows, that our principal sorrow, the one which touches our record in the past, is not to be healed by our own reformation. When our whole environment is taken into view, our chief sorrow is our dissonance with that record before God from whom we cannot flee, and who must look upon it for ever. The sanctuary of sorrow provides a screen for that record, and it, and it only, can proclaim peace.

Of course the Christian life is a growth; the faintest beam of the light in the east at first, but the soul does understand in secret hours,

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\* "Essay on Voltaire."

### THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER.

even in its untutored state, that some things are sinful and others holy ; and it then goes on trying to avoid the one and cultivate the other. Then gradually there comes the greater fact, a conception of God's presence, and this may be born from scientific reasons or from scriptural reasons, or be innate in the soul, but it is the great central fact. Then, finally, after years have passed, after the soul has been scarred and furrowed by lapses into sin, when it has seen the hollowness of everything in mere time, out of some great valley of humiliation and shadow of death it comes up, the doctrine of Sin on the one side, and the doctrine of Atonement on the other, sole powers by which the pillars of the universe stand, and by one great throe of its being, fully counting all it can of the cost, looking death steadily in the face, and knowing that its God and its Redeemer are present, a Personality to witness and hear, it says once for all : " Utterly and for ever Thine."

The instant that is said the world is new. There is a strange unutterable feeling that something from the Infinite above has flashed down into the soul, and henceforward there are union and equilibrium. A well of eternal life has at once suddenly sprung up in the heart. It is transformed ; the treasures of the soul are in Eternity, no longer in Time. They are in the Infinite, Unnamable One, present to spiritual and almost to physical sense wherever the soul turns its face to Him. There, in the most literal sense, is its supreme love, infinite oceans of transporting rapture, every spiritual perfection, and every tie that the offices of Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier can create ; there is the soul's *all*. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit, so long a mystery, a fearful depth and height of thought, which the soul has so often tried, it may be, to measure by the short sounding line of human speculation, it begins at last tremblingly to hope, and hardly daring to look the great blessing in the face, it may understand by experience. That Spirit which it is said is given to those who really seek it sooner than bread is given by fathers to their children, enters the heart. The act by which the mind brought itself into communion with the Divine mind is ratified by it. There may be wavering in the resolution, but he has never taken it who breaks it. There will be sins of infirmity and inadvertence at times,

CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA;" OR,

and sins of ignorance almost constantly, but the soul will mourn for them more than it formerly did for wilful transgressions. Watchfulness is its constant business. The soul endures as seeing Him who is invisible, and because it is fed on the joys of its own consciousness. The calm, transcendent resolution has been taken for eternity as well as for time. It secures every interest for time and for the infinite future. To take it is a bold act, but not to take it is one infinitely bolder, since the latter would be braving not man but God. A few strong, decided actions, letting it be known where the heart lies, and constituting precedents enough to form a habit, and there will be less trouble from the world than would at first be expected. The soul may live on a rocky summit of its own, but within that height there will be a spring whose waters give eternal youth, and the mount's top will be near the celestial gates. A sense that one's joys are immortal enters the soul. The spirit trembles within itself for very joy to find death no longer a terror; the end of life is seen to be really and truly the beginning. An indescribable rapture fills every faculty. The joy of the spirit is not fragmentary, but full. The soul lies in the arms of duty. Interchanges of thought between the spirit and the Infinite illumine life. Something is borne in upon the mind from above; abides with it while it is pure, dwells around it, guides it. The only thing feared is sin; for this grieves and may forfeit the Divine presence. The soul *will* do no wilful sin; its face is set; in that resolution is its life. It has courage for private and public duty, both from its fear of sin and its love for its All. The dwelling in the Infinite Spirit gives wisdom. The Scriptures grow strangely sweet and luminous. The soul knows what it is to understand with the heart. History, Nature, utter infinite things of the Spirit which moves everything in each. The world bursts with its Author. The soul is conscious of God as a Personality, Infinite, unnamable in perfections, upon whose bosom it lies, if that expression may be permitted, a Personality too vast for it to comprehend, but not too great for it to apprehend, and to stretch out its arms upon; an Infinite ocean of divine spiritual ravishment, in which it is bathed, and can never find enough or end. Truth and Duty are to it a sea from whose touch it cannot go, and to which it has opened

### *THE VALUE OF SECRET PRAYER.*

itself for life. The witness of God's presence is in the soul. Receiving God, and God in Christ, as both Saviour and Lord, the soul suddenly finds itself harmonized with the past, with conscience, and with the Holy of Holies above it, around it, beneath it. Its whole mood is action; it is nearest to God when it is striking the most vigorously at its nearest duty. The awe of the Divine Omnipotence carries the soul into the conflict with sin, with irresistible onset, and makes it the high cheer of life to smite the enemy of the race, and to see to it that not his will but God's will is done in the earth.

Whenever this state of soul, which I am not describing without some knowledge of it in others, has come into existence, the whole spirit becomes translucent, sometimes entirely transparent, to a new light. The soul becomes theoscopic. As a white stone, by a re-arrangement of its atoms, may be changed from opaqueness to transparency, so the soul, by total and grand surrender to all the truth it knows, ceases to be opaque and becomes crystalline. I hold it to be a truth of exact mental science, revealed in ten thousand times ten thousand personal experiences, that whoever, following axiomatic theology, and Christianity based upon self-evident truth, yields himself to God, utterly, will find that obedience is the organ of spiritual knowledge otherwise utterly unattainable. That is the height of culture; that is the beginning of wisdom.

The immense telescope of Lord Rosse and every feebler glass are subject to a common and an irreversible law. The telescope turned upon the star causes an image of the star to spring up in the chambers of the instrument, but it does this only when the axis of the tube is coincident with the line of the ray from the luminary in the heavens. Man has power to turn the axis upon the line of the ray. Man has power to set the lenses; and yet God gave him the lenses. Man sets them by God's general light; he turns the tube to the sky under the persuasion of the radiance which comes down out of the azure, so that no man can come to God unless God draw him. But while this general illumination is vouchsafed to all men, there is a special illumination of soul guaranteed to all when the axis of the tube is made to agree perfectly with the line of the ray. At the instant of

*CARLYLE'S "EVERLASTING YEA."*

exact coincidence, the ray flashes down it, with quick, splendid, interior, unexpected illumination. In the endless space there burns a sun ; in the poor, feeble, human instrument there burns a star, its image. These truths belong to mental science, and these experiences to all culture worthy of the name. In this theoscopic mood of the soul, and in the resultant life, axiomatic theology culminates. Its last word, its first word, is peace in Christ.

## CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.

### THE PRELUDE.—THE WEAK SPOT IN THE NATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

CONFUCIUS, wishing to give a lesson of supreme value in politics, pointed one of his pupils to a lofty obelisk, and said what we might say of the historic shaft on Bunker Hill: "Seest thou yonder tall object; in its uprightness is its strength."

It may seem unpatriotic to affirm that there is more demand for uprightness in the United States to-day than supply. So far as the church is represented by this deficiency, it is necessary to criticize God's house itself, for it is the business of that holy temple to manufacture uprightness. Where are the looms that weave honest statesmen? Where are the spindles and whirling shafts on which history is to prepare, in the United States, a wardrobe of righteousness for our partisan spoils system in politics? It is easy to point out the looms that weave tricky men and deceptive robes for unscrupulous enterprises. The rushing of the machinery which in this country prepares a large supply of unrighteousness in politics, is audible from side to side of the land. The mere politician is a spoilsman. The spoils system tempts all fourth and fifth-rate politicians to become merely spoilsmen. The mere placeman will of course devote his chief attention to keeping his place. Under a term system, in which elections occur frequently, the chief business of a man who sets his heart on keeping his place will be to carry the next election. If we had a system of retaining in office those who occupy posts in the Civil Service, and not turning them out except for bad behaviour, we should be able to contrast the working of what might be called the merit system with that of the spoils system. If men were turned out only when they behaved badly, we should find their chief attention devoted to the performance of good work, because that would be the root of the tenure of office. At present, however, the tenure of office depends upon carrying the next election. There has, therefore, come into existence in American politics a class of men whose professional business it is to manage elections. If you cannot carry the next election, you must make the most of your office while you have it. Fifty millions of dollars are paid out every year to the officers of the civil service of the United States, and few are aware how many profitable places are secured for relatives and dependents by Civil Service officers through the authority which their public position gives them. Millions and millions beyond what the people pay for the Civil Service are represented by the spoils which are at stake whenever great parties compete for the Presidential chair.

1. Under the partisan spoils system, the conflicts of spoilsmen cannot fail to attain national dimensions.

Are Louisiana and Maine needles which fraud has been threading for work in preparing the shroud of the American Republic? I believe in American insti-

## *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

tations ; but, because my generation has suffered much in this country for the preservation of the purity of our politics, you will allow me to be entirely frank in criticizing even our fundamental law itself. Look on the tombstones you decorate every spring, and read the inscriptions on the marbles, and you will find that a great proportion of those who gave up their lives in our civil contest were men between twenty-five and thirty-five years of age. My generation in America is and always will be a remnant decimal. It is a tattered fragment left over after battle. It has only one arm left to it ; and you must not blame those who represent my class in American society if we put this single surviving member a little roughly on the collar of current rascalities. There is a bandage around this arm yet ; and you must not accuse me of lack of patriotism, if, facing both political parties, and in likelihood of offending both, I unwind that bandage and use it as a rope with which to throttle the passing scoundrelisms of the hour, whether found in Maine or Louisiana.

2. The Constitution of the United States does not definitely provide a method of counting electoral votes for President. The duty of making this count it places nowhere. It directs only that "the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then and there be counted."

3. On three occasions of great importance there have been undecided Presidential elections, and the vagueness of the Constitution as to the duty of the count has given trouble.

In 1800 a Presidential election took place, and the result was doubtful. In February, 1801, the electoral votes were counted and were found to be : for Jefferson, 73 ; for Burr, 73 ; for Adams, 65 ; for Pinckney, 64 ; for John Jay, 1. An election was made by the House of Representatives between the two highest candidates. Each State had one vote. The balloting continued six days and there was no election. Finally ten States voted for Jefferson, and four for Burr, and two blank. Jefferson thus became President and Burr Vice-President, but the peace of the country had been subjected to a fearful strain.

In 1824, Jackson had 99 electoral votes, John Quincy Adams 84, William H. Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. The house chose a President from the three highest candidates. Clay stood fourth on the list and was not eligible. He and his friends united on Adams. In this coalition thirteen States voted for Adams, seven for Jackson, and four for Crawford, and Adams was declared elected. Clay and Adams were loose constructionists of the Constitution, and their opponents strict constructionists.

In 1876, there were 184 Democratic and 173 Republican electors chosen without dispute. The four votes of Florida and the eight of Louisiana were announced by the returning boards of these States to be Republican. The Democrats claimed that this result had been effected by fraud. They demanded that Congress should refuse to accept the certificates of the Republican electors from Florida and Louisiana. The two Houses had exercised on previous occasions a joint authority over the counting. The Senate was now Republican and the House Democratic. There was no constitutional solution of the difficulty.\*

4. In order to avoid possible civil war, an electoral commission act was passed by both Houses. It created a commission composed of five senators, five representatives, and five justices of the Supreme Court. All votes on which the two

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\* See Johnston's "History of American Politics," pp. 214, 95, and 49.

## *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

Houses could not agree were to be referred to this commission. Its decision was to be final, unless overruled by *both* Houses. The commission declined to go behind the returns sent in by Florida and Louisiana. The vote, as announced by the constituted authorities of the States, it decided must be accepted as final and conclusive. Thus there were found to be 185 electoral votes for Hayes and Wheeler, and 184 for Tilden and Hendricks. But the peace of the country was greatly disturbed, and the danger of violent action on the part of those who were defeated was thought to be imminent.

5. It has been historically proved, therefore, that the method of counting electoral votes in a closely contested Presidential election is the weak spot in our national Constitution.

6. If another closely contested Presidential campaign occurs in 1880, it is not likely that an electoral commission will be empowered to settle the difficulty, for both Houses in Congress now belong to one political party, and in 1876 they were divided between the two parties.

7. Upon precisely the rock which three times has endangered the Ship of State in American politics, the Republic is now drifting for the fourth time. Upon the one weak point in the Constitution, a terrific strain is likely to be brought, for the spoils at stake are greater than ever.

8. It is plainly the duty of Congress to determine beforehand the method of the count, and yet Congress takes no steps in this direction, and it delays because each party is watching for its own interests rather than for those of the people at large.

9. Attempts to repeal the laws securing the purity of the ballot box in Federal elections have been made in Congress; there is proof that fraud has occurred in Maine; and the judgment of a Supreme Court in reversal of the rulings by which whole cities and counties were disfranchised, has been trampled under foot there by a politically infamous governor and his party. Many signs seem to indicate that cormorant gangs of spoilsmen intend to appeal to trickery rather than to law, to settle the next closely contested Presidential election.

10. In this posture of public affairs, it becomes the duty of the press and pulpit, and platform, to arouse Congress to action in providing a remedy for the deficiencies of the Constitution, and in advancing the cause of civil service reform.

11. The destruction of the spoils system is the only way of preventing politicians from becoming spoilsmen. Until the spoils system is destroyed, spoilsmen in cormorant gangs will abound in American politics.

12. No amount of constitutional machinery, however, can save us without an intense public sentiment created by discussion on the independent platform, in the press, and in the churches.

For one, I would have every church member who is convicted of taking or giving bribes in elections, large or small, expelled from God's house. I would have any church member who is convicted by legal evidence of entering into alliance with these cormorant gangs, and violating the command against lying, expelled from God's house. I would have the church far more wakeful than it is at the present moment, concerning the duty of sending all citizens to the polls. Dr. Dale, when he was in this country, went so far as to say to an audience in New Haven, that any citizen who is able to vote, and does not vote, ought to be expelled from the church, if he is a member of it. Although I have never taken that position, I have never opposed it, and never shall. Constitutional forms must be vitalized by righteous public sentiments in politics, or they are worthless. We



### *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

may put up the wires for our telegraphic operations, and they will only be blasphemies in the face of High Heaven, if we have no sufficiency of electricity to flash along them. The manufactories for the electric current! You will not find these in the political gatherings of city slums, nor in the average caucuses of city wards.

The trouble is that some of our most influential fifth-rate politicians live in little eddies of corrupt political mire, and think that the whole ocean of public sentiment is of the same quality with their bad local ensowment. There they are, in their political club rooms, with liquor on the counter. I wish club rooms of a higher order were free from liquor. General Grant turns his wine-glass upside down. [A voice interrupted here with marked Irish brogue.] Let Irish politicians and their constituents imitate him. Let the clubs of Boston imitate the great soldier who has made the circuit of the round promenade of the world. I hear the echo of woman's heart-throbbings in this your thunder, which well befits the historic roof above us. I hear in it, also, the throbbings of the hearts of ninety-nine hundredths of the ministry. It is an amazement to me that in any social or literary organization liquors can be put into a room for the use of all the members, and one minister in a hundred be found to belong to such a club. The trouble with our fifth-rate politicians is that they little understand how desperate is the earnestness of the American people on the point of honesty in our national affairs. The people are so absorbed in their own private enterprises that only on great occasions does the smiting thunder-bolt drop into the heart of corrupt politics. Professor Hitchcock says that if he were a politician, the first thing he should make peace with would be the conscience of the United States, for whoever offends that is likely to be hurt. "Talk," he says, "against sentimentality, as much as you please; whoever in this country offends moral sentiment is sure sooner or later to find a thunderbolt in his breast."

13. The great nations of Europe are widening their suffrage. England, ever since 1832, has been giving more and more power to the ballot. France elects the Lower Chamber of her Supreme Legislative assembly by the vote of citizens of the age of twenty-one; Prussia by that of citizens of twenty-five, classed according to taxation; Austria by that of citizens of twenty-one with a small property qualification; Switzerland by the votes of males of twenty; Greece by manhood suffrage. The eyes of the world are fastened on the now thickening difficulties of the experiment of universal suffrage in the United States. Every disease of the suffrage here discourages Republican institutions throughout the world.

14. That particular class of men whose business it is to carry elections has been the enemy of Republics ever since the history of Republics began, and that class is coming into existence in this country in alarming numbers and power. Party-men, spoilsmen, constructed the nooses which choked the Republics of the Netherlands, Genoa, Venice, Florence, Rome and Greece. Let the Church see to it that she has something to say to politics. It is of course not usually on the Lord's day that one can best discuss civic themes. There is no need of bringing the names of politicians into the pulpit except on very highly important occasions; but moral principles can be discussed there. In your week-day lectures, and most of all in your passing to and fro through the parlours of the community, you who are the manufacturers of uprightness in society, can exert such an influence that spoilsmen and the slums will find by-and-bye that they are not the only currents in our civilization.

### CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.

"We are more and more a set of sets in America. England is a set of sets. If you allow one of our corrupt eddies to have control of politics and exclude from that region the clearer waters of the other portions of the national sea, little by little the turbid current will dig a channel for itself. As it digs a channel so it will run, and as it shall run, so it will dig its channel. Political absenteeism and indifference leave oozy marshes festering all along our political coasts. The channels of political custom or of national law will never be rightly dug in this country, until crystalline waves of our vexed sea are forced in high permanent tides, lifted up by God's brooding attraction into the pestilent marshes of our politics, where low reptiles now swarm, and room made there for honest commerce and men of war, with water enough beneath them to float all our political parties. That is what our fathers meant in this House, when they organized the State as a Theocracy. That is what our Longfellow, on the banks of the Charles, yonder, teaches us to seek when he sings, in his illumined and serene age, as in his youth:—

"Thou, too, sail on, O Ship of State!  
Sail on, O UNION, strong and great!  
Humanity with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!

"In spite of rock and tempest roar,  
In spite of false lights on the shore,  
Sail on, nor fear to breast the sea!  
Our hearts, our hopes, our prayers, our tears,  
Our faith triumphant o'er our fears,  
Are all with thee, are all with thee!"

—"The Building of the Ship."

### THE LECTURE.

WHEN Carlyle and Emerson first met they wandered across the hills which look down into Wordsworth's country, and conversed of immortality. Emerson was especially struck with Carlyle's perception of the subtle links which bind the ages together. "Christ died on the tree," said Carlyle; "that built Dunscore kirk yonder: that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence."\* "Our highest Orpheus," exclaims Carlyle in another place,† "walked in Judæa eighteen hundred years ago. His sphere-melody, flowing in wild native tones, took captive the ravished souls of men; and being of a truth sphere-melody, still flows and sounds, though now with thousandfold accompaniments, and rich symphonies, through all our hearts; and modulates and divinely leads them. Is that a wonder which happens in two hours; and does it cease to be wonderful if happening in two million? Not only was Thebes built by the music

\* Emerson's "English Traits," chap. I.  
Supernaturalism "

† "Sartor Resartus," "Natural

### *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

of an Orpheus ; but without the music of some inspired Orpheus was no city ever built, no work that man glories in ever done. Sweep away the illusion of time ; glance, if thou have eyes, from the near-moving cause to its far distant Mover. The stroke that came transmitted through a whole galaxy of elastic balls—was it less a stroke than if the last ball only had been struck, and sent flying ? Oh, could I, with the time-annihilating hat, transport thee direct from the Beginnings to the Endings, how were thy eye-sight unsealed, and thy heart set flaming in the light-sea of celestial wonder ! ”

Let us destroy, if possible, the illusion of time, and imagine the results which Christianity has produced in the world, as occurring immediately after the commencement of the action of the causes which produced them. Put yourself at a point of history previous to the beginning of the Christian movement. Look abroad on Rome. Notice the civil, social, and literary spirit of her average Paganism. Then place yourself where we now stand and look backward. Contrast the modern civil, social, and religious spirit with the ancient. Do not allow yourself to be misled by the thought that eighteen centuries have passed ; for, after all, the mere duration of time is no explanation of the results which have been brought about. The causes which have produced the alteration in the mood of the earth you never will appreciate unless you sweep away the illusion of time, and imagine one blow of God's hand on the world as changing it from the ancient into the modern shape ! Professor Dana affirms that all force in Nature is the ever-present Divine will. He assures us that all natural law is law by Divine appointment. You think that the change from the ancient into the modern spirit has come about by natural law. Very well, that is God's action. You say, that a variety of natural forces have conspired to produce a marvellous amelioration of the condition of the planet. Very well, those forces have been Divine forces, for all law in nature is the present action of the Divine will, so that if God were to stretch down a hand out of the sky and mould civilization visibly before your eyes, He would not, in that act, be doing this any more really than He has been doing it in the time that has elapsed since Christianity arrived in the world. The new shape which the world's thought has taken has come from the action of natural force or of revealed truth, and in both these we have God's manipulating hands—natural law His left hand and revelation His right—and if you had seen the manipulations going on and the change produced, as if by magic, you would have called the development supernatural. I say it is supernatural, although it has taken eighteen centuries to bring it about. Here you have what I suppose

### *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

to be the subtlest reply that can be made from the vaunted point of view of evolution to all scepticism as to the supernatural origin of Christianity. There is an evolution in history; the world has been led onward and upward by the coming into the world of men endowed religiously above their fellows. But the time and place of the appearance of these men can be accounted for by no human power, and the right hand and right arm which have moulded the world into a new shape are to be found in the influence of Him who spake as never man spake, and from whom all the years of time are numbered.

Did Christianity have a supernatural origin?

1. The New Testament literature, the Christian tradition, and the Christian Church, are in the world.

2. Once they were not in the world.

3. Their coming into existence in the Roman empire eighteen hundred years ago was, therefore, a change which requires a thoroughly adequate cause.

4. This literature contains the only religion which the progress of thought has not outgrown.

5. It contains the only set of religious principles that harmonizes the soul with its entire environment by conscience, the Divine nature, and the record of an irreversible past.\*

teaches the only religion which is in harmony with the law of the ascent of life.

7. The New Testament literature contains, also, the picture of the character of Christ.

8. An adequate explanation of the New Testament literature, therefore, must explain the coming into existence of that picture.

9. It must account for the possession by Him whom the picture represents of the wisdom required to teach the only unsuperseded and scientifically adequate religion.

10. The picture and the religion actually exist, and are the foundation of the Christian church, which is acquiring dominion over the whole world.

11. The perpetually renewed attempts to account for the picture by merely natural causes, show that no one has yet succeeded, after eighteen hundred years, in so accounting for it.

There is the New Testament. You can handle it. The church is here. The Christian tradition is in the world. The Christian spirit permeates literature and civilization. I am not assuming now that Christ's character was historically real; but the picture of that

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\* See "Boston Monday Lectures," from the 131st to the 140th.

### *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

character is in the New Testament literature. These things must be accounted for, for once they were not. This book of the New Testament has in it two things which no other literature contains—a religion unmatched anywhere, and a picture of a character corresponding with the religion. It may be that this character can be explained, at least the picture of it, without resorting to the theory that there was a real person behind the picture; and that the latter was drawn from the former. If, however, you are to be serious with yourself, when you take the New Testament in your hand, you must do one of two things, either explain, by some other supposition, the coming into existence of the picture of the character which we call Christ, or else admit that the picture had behind it a reality from which it was drawn. You must adopt some sort of a mythical theory, or else accept the proposition that the picture could not have been drawn if it had not had a reality to copy.

12. It is conceded, after centuries of debate, that the picture cannot be accounted for by the ideals of Greek and Roman civilization.

Pardon me if I pause for a moment, not to exhaust the great theme which here lies before us, but to hint, by the exhibition of glimpses of the topic, something of the difference between the mood of the Cæsars and the mood of Christ. Cæsar is the word which sums up antiquity at its highest point of culture. Plato, you say, is a better summary. Take Plato, if you choose, or Socrates. Plato's wavering social philosophy allowed concubinage and slavery. It allowed such an arrangement of society that the bottom of civilization would be, according to Plato's plan, always occupied by the hewers of wood and the drawers of water, and the top by a select class, an aristocracy of intellect and birth and wealth. The very fault which was found with Christianity in the Roman empire was that it reversed all the ideas not only of the State, but of the philosophies, and inculcated the sacredness of human nature and taught pity for the poor. It was Celsus who objected to Christianity that it cared for the poor, the halt, the lame, and the blind, and those who had not where to lay their heads. This stupid benevolence, this charity which is the glory of the modern age, was the very stumbling block which Christianity had to meet in her conflict not only with the haughty Greek and Roman civic spirit, but with the philosophers of both the Greek and Roman civilization.

13. The Old Testament cannot be used to account for the New, and the problem completely solved.

You may say that out of the spirit of the prophets, and out of the

### *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

Decalogue, came the Sermon on the Mount, but whoever has given himself largely to historic investigation, finds a new atmosphere when he comes out of the Old into the New Testament. I have conversed often with experts on this point, and my own experience agrees with what I have been told was theirs, that the best way to convince a man that there is something new in the New Testament, is to immerse him for a year in the documents of the first and second centuries. Compare the loftiest outcome of the Old Testament period with the documents preserved to us in the Gospels and in the Epistles, and you will find that Jewish civilization cannot by merely natural processes be developed in the character called Christ. There was an originality in His teaching such that He was rejected in His own day. Those who the most profoundly drank in the spirit of the old dispensation, found that the new wine could not be kept in old bottles. Infidels do not attack Christianity as exclusively a development of Jewish civilization. If they were to do so, we should at once reply that the Jewish religion was a preparation for Christianity, and that prophecy has always been interpreted to mean that out of the Jewish nation should come a peculiar people whose God is the Lord. From a chosen man there came a chosen family, and from a chosen family a chosen nation, and from the chosen nation a chosen person, and from a chosen person a chosen church. You sit under Abraham's oak at Hebron and read a prophecy on this point out of the most ancient Scriptures, and if your experience beneath that tree is what mine was, your cheeks will grow white as you contemplate the coincidence of what has been with what was prophesied centuries before the Christian era. The order of the development of the world has indisputably followed this prediction, and here again you catch a glimpse of the supernatural evolving power.

14. It is conceded that the character pictured in the New Testament cannot be accounted for by the capacity of the fishermen of Galilee to write a literature containing the picture.

15. Infidelity of the acutest sort has attempted for years to explain the New Testament literature by the mythical theory. But according to Strauss, its author, that theory has failed, and has now no authority.

It is conceded that Paul's chief epistles are genuine, and were written before the year A.D. 60. Between that date and the year 34 the myths and legends must have grown up. It was thought thirty or forty years ago that the earliest date to which the literature of the New Testament could be carried back was about A.D. 180. Scholars now have in their hands incontrovertible evidence that the Gospels

### CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.

had acquired authority with the earliest churches as soon as A.D. 125. Renan, Schenkel, Keim, Weizäcker, all teach that the fourth Gospel itself could not have appeared later than a few years after the beginning of the second century.\* It can be shown beyond a peradventure, that the leading traits of the picture of the character of the Christ which the Gospels contain were familiar to Christian churches within twenty-five years from the date of His death. Where is there room for the growth of myths and legends?

When Bunker Hill Monument was erected, an oration was delivered. If we did not know that a battle ever occurred on yonder height, if all the proof we had of the fact were Webster's oration and yonder monument, we should yet be able to infer with great certainty that the battle occurred, for we must account for the oration and the erection of the monument. Suppose that we could trace back history only to the oration of Webster. We should say that the oration must be accounted for; but there are statements in it concerning a battle; and a great assembly within fifty years of the alleged date of the conflict takes it for granted that there was such an event, and erects a monument to commemorate it. *It is inexplicable that such a speech should be delivered, and such a monument erected, unless there were something behind both speech and obelisk.* In like manner we go back to the origin of the New Testament literature, and we are as sure about the most of it as we are about Webster's oration. That literature came into existence in connection with the erection of a monument which is with us to this day, that is, the Christian church. Both the literature and the monument are a memorial of a great event, occurring just previously to the erection of the monument. On the supposition that the battle of Bunker Hill did not occur, how are you to account for Webster's oration and Bunker Hill monument, which came into existence within fifty years after the date of the alleged event they commemorate? On the supposition that the character pictured in the Gospels was not an historic reality, how are you to account for the New Testament literature, and the foundation of the Christian church, within twenty-five years after the alleged date of the facts they commemorate?

Four of the epistles written by the Apostle Paul have borne the tooth of criticism as the file bears the gnawing of a viper. You cannot induce any well-informed infidel to affirm that the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Romans and Corinthians and Galatians are not historic documents. They were written when they pretend to have

\* See Professor Fisher's "Essays on the Supernatural Origin of Christianity," Preface, p. xxxviii.

### *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

been, not far from the middle of the first century. How do you account for these documents? They take for granted that a great character existed, wrought miracles, founded a society, and that His teachings were of a certain order. The Christian Church is tangible in the first centuries; she leaves her track of blood on all the records of Rome; she buries her sainted dead in catacombs. We go back along the historical adamant with as firm a tread, I hold, as we go back to Webster's oration on Bunker's Hill. Infidelity must face the outcome of historical investigation, and it is that the mythical theory cannot be maintained.

What is that theory? It is that between the date of Paul's Epistles, and the assumed date of the birth of our Lord, myths grew up and added a supernatural element to the Gospel narrative, and that this element was taken for history. The most important parts of the New Testament literature grew up between the beginning of the second third of the first century and the close of that century, that is in about seventy years. Have myths grown up anywhere else in history in so short a time? Investigations conducted by the acutest experts in ecclesiastical history, rationalists, and infidels, have carried back the date of the earliest New Testament literature to about the last third of the first century, and the disputed facts to which that literature refers, are supposed to have occurred in the second third of the same century. It is a question whether between the upper blade of these shears and the lower, there is room for the mythical theory. When that precious explanation was first put forth by Strauss, its author, it was supposed that there were two or three hundred years for the myths to grow up in. But the shears have been shut little by little upon this audacious scheme of scepticism. The shears close upon the mythical theory until it has left to it only the years between A.D. 34 and A.D. 60 to account for the growing up of these myths and legends! Serious men have given up the theory for reasons which I gave to you in detail, when Mr. Frothingham came to Boston to teach that out-grown dream of infidelity.\* Strauss himself, in his last book, said that the critical mythical theory had all run to leaves. He himself changed the shape of it, and finally abandoned it for a materialistic and substantially atheistic view of the world. He never pretended for an instant that the New Testament literature could be explained by the Old.

It is the delusion of careless minds that we can never come to historic certainty as to what happened in the first century; and

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\* See "Boston Monday Lectures," Vol. ii., Prelude to Lecture 2.



### *CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

although that opinion is widespread among those who do not make the subject a special study, a month's serious reading on the historical argument of the Christian evidences would drive all that vapour out of the thoughts. It would be well worth the while of any sceptic here to devote a month to the discussion of the question whether the mythical theory has been exploded or not.

Webster's oration at the dedication of Bunker Hill monument was further off from the battle than the acknowledged date of Paul's Epistles is distant from the chief facts they assume. The New Testament literature came into existence just before and after the end of the first century, and those who wrote it asserted that they had been eye-witnesses of the things which they recorded. They founded a church on their testimony. They sealed their testimony with their lives. The now notorious truth is that documents of indisputable genuineness, the evidence from the existence of a Christian Church, the proof gathered from various profane authors of antiquity, may be put under a man's feet, flag-stone after flag-stone and over the highway thus constructed you may drive back into the first century and take up your position there, nearer to the coming into existence of Christianity than Webster was to the battle fought where now stands yonder historic obelisk.

How are you to account for the coming into existence of the great Christian wave sweeping over Greek and Roman culture, toppling down the throne of the Cæsars, spreading itself over barbaric tribes, and across the Balkans and the Alps and the Rhine and the howling North Sea and England, rolling across the Atlantic itself, and advancing from side to side of this New World, and beyond it to the islands of the western sea and again into Asia, accumulating force all the way? This wave seems likely to end its course only by the enswathement of the entire planet. You are to explain how that wave was started. It is going past you; you hear the surge of its tremendous torrents. What force heaved this earthquake wave out of the first century? The fishermen of Galilee! Myths! That is the best infidelity has ever said on the subject. If I were a lawyer, if I were simply a teacher of the legal profession, like Professor Norton,\* who years ago wrote at Harvard University a book on the Christian evidences, wholly from a legal point of view, I should be obliged to walk backward on this old pavement. But the historical evidence he employed has grown brighter under research since his day. You say that this topic is worn. Well, it is worn by battle, and by victories. I placed my hand in old Pompeii in the ruts

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\* See his volume on the "Authenticity of the Gospels."

*CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

worn by chariot wheels ; ruts so deep that my whole hand went out of sight in one of them. I can lie down bodily on these historic flagstones and find the ruts deep enough indeed to cover my whole person ; but the deeper they are, the more I trust them. The law of the survival of the fittest has application here. Under eighteen centuries of the most malignant battle, under the fiercest attack, Christianity has maintained the integrity of these lines of historical defence ; and I suppose that the historical attack on Christianity is more hopeless to-day than in any previous age of the world since the second century. You go to Dorner of Berlin. You go to the successors of Julius Müller and Tholuck, and you will find them asserting most emphatically and unqualifiedly that the mythical theory has gone to the wall. There is no longer any important leaning toward it among German scholars, who are experts in the history of the origin of Christianity. There is infidelity in Germany, I know ; with the average shopmen there is a bold rationalism of speculation in fashion ; but with the experts familiar with the facts which the latest research has brought to the front, you cannot find a single strong man who leans for support on this mythical theory. The only explanation of the New Testament that infidelity has ever made half probable, has been cut into shreds by the shutting of the shears of chronology until only thirty years are between their blades. There is where your mythical theory lies. You have closed the great chronological shears until the mythical theory is so severed that infidelity cannot cover itself by wearing this theory as a wardrobe. It is too short at the top ; it is too short at the bottom ; it can no longer be worn by any man who is not shameless enough to go dressed in fig-leaves.

16. The historical character of the Christian literature has been vindicated by a mass of evidence more overwhelming than can be adduced in support of the claims of any other mass of documents of equal extent and age.

17. The adequate explanation of the coming into existence of the Christian literature and the Church, is found only in the historical reality of the character represented by the picture of Christ in the Gospels.

The revered preacher to Harvard University I once heard exclaim : " The coming into existence of such a picture as this under the unskilled pencils of such limners is sufficient proof of its reality ; and its reality is sufficient proof of its divinity." By divinity he did not mean Deity, but divinity in the sense of Channing's Arianism ; and Channing used to treat with the most lofty disdain those who cannot

*CHRIST'S CHARACTER THE SUPREME MIRACLE.*

see in Christ our Lord more than a man. So, too, does Thomas Hill, the profoundest mind now representing Unitarianism on this continent. Even Theodore Parker said, "*It would require a Jesus to forge a Jesus.*"

18. Christ's character was more than human in that it was sinless. Christ never repents.

He teaches a religion based on repentance, but Himself never feels the need of repentance. Who convinces Him of sin? This picture! What was it drawn from? \*

19. His teaching was more than human, in that it satisfied, and it only has satisfied, the deepest human wants.

20. His character was more than human, in that He made astounding claims of unity with the Deity, and yet showed no want of humility or balance of soul.

21. If Christ's character was more than human, it is natural to expect something more than human in His works.

22. The miracles He is said to have performed were to be expected from one whose own character is itself the supreme miracle.

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\* See in Bushnell's "Nature and the Supernatural," the famous chapter entitled, "The Character of Jesus forbids His possible classification with men." See also Ullmann's classical treatise on the "Sinlessness of Jesus;" and especially Dorner's unsurpassed volumes on the "Person of Christ."

*MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR,  
SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF."*

PRELUDE.—"WHY IS IRELAND STARVING?" THE CAUSES OF HER  
DISTRESS, AND THE REMEDIES TO BE APPLIED.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, who was a student in France in his youth, left that kingdom on the very day when Louis XVI. lost his head by the guillotine. The young Irishman, as soon as he reached the deck of the packet boat at Cala's, tore from his hat the French tri-coloured cockade, trampled it under his feet, and cast it into the sea. He was governed through his whole life by his well-known saying, that he would accept no social amelioration at the cost of a single drop of blood. If Ireland, through half or quarter of her territory, is really starving, what ought America to send to her? Tons and ship-loads of food, it may be, but not a feather's weight of Fenianism. There were collected in the United States, in little more than twelve years, by the Fenian organization, 626,000 dols.; and of this sum, 425,000 dols., according to the report of the Fenian brotherhood itself, were expended exclusively for Irish revolutionary purposes. America, so far as she is not Irish, is not proud of that record. General Meade, in 1866, drove the Fenians back very briskly when they entered Canada. I believe that if his spirit were with us to-day, and Daniel O'Connell here also, the two would shake hands in repressing the revolutionary spirit of Ireland.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to answer the questions which are in all hearts, as to Ireland's distress, without touching upon the complicated and blazing topic of land tenure in the British Islands. Philanthropy and politics cannot be very well separated on this theme; but you will remember that I am putting before you no appeal for American governmental interference. The United States do not interfere in the politics of their neighbours; but philanthropic discussion here may very well concern itself with the woes of any people on the planet. In this house, and at this hour, it is proper for us to ask how far the distresses of Ireland are to be accounted for by a mischievous system of land tenure; and we must raise this question with distinctness, even if we are obliged to ask, also, whether an aristocratic organization of society can long endure in the world, if once the laws of primogeniture and entail are abolished.

*Why is Ireland starving?* On account of at least twelve causes: the laws of primogeniture and entail, foreign ownership of Irish land, absenteeism of her landlords, the draining of her money into other countries, a system of tenancy-at-will, over-population, exhaustion of the soil, diseases of crops, lack of diversification of industry, Romanism, and American competition.

1. The law of primogeniture accumulates landed property in Ireland and England in the hands of a few persons.

## *MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR,*

On account of the mischief such a law effects in massing the free acres of the globe in the hands of a few families, I, for one, would resist by the bayonet the introduction of the law of primogeniture into the United States.

2. The laws of entail prevent the sale of lands according to the wants of the population.

Daniel O'Connell apologized often for even the Irish landlords by saying that their estates were encumbered by laws of entail. Many of the great families are not at liberty to sell any of their acres, and cannot will them to any except the eldest-born sons. Here are artificial restrictions imposed upon the distribution of land; and if I would have government interfere at all in this case, it would be not to create restrictions, but to remove those which government, in times past, under the feudal system, has made, unadvisedly.

3. Foreign ownership of a great portion of the island diminishes local zeal for the improvement of estates.

4. Absenteeism of the foreign owners of one-quarter of the soil of Ireland places the tenantry in the hands of grasping local agents and middlemen.

Ireland is owned by a handful of rich men. They let the land to some 600,000 tenants. According to official statistics there are only 1,529 tenants in Ireland who have more than 500 acres each; 287,516 have fifteen acres or less. In 1870 the government reported 2,973 absentee landholders in Ireland, who owned precisely one-fourth of the island, rated at an annual rent of £2,470,816. Here are a few of the names of the absentees, with the figures showing the number of acres they own and their annual rent:—

Name.	No. of acres.	Annual rent.
Sir Richard Wallace ... ..	61,000	£74,000
Marquis of Ely ... ..	48,000	23,000
Lord Dillon ... ..	89,000	21,000
Marquis of Bath... ..	22,000	79,000
Earl of Dartrey ... ..	26,000	18,000
Earl of Darnley ... ..	21,000	18,000
Earl of Devon ... ..	33,000	14,000
Earl of Egmont ... ..	16,000	13,000
Lord Doneraile ... ..	14,000	13,000
Lord Digby ... ..	30,000	13,000
Lord Hill Trevor ... ..	15,000	13,000
Sir Charles Domville ... ..	6,000	10,000
Earl of Ar ... ..	36,000	10,000
Earl of Normanton ... ..	10,000	9,000
Lord De Clifford ... ..	13,000	5,000
Mr. Smith Barry ... ..	27,000	32,000
Earl of Dunraven ... ..	15,000	11,000
Earl of Pembroke ... ..	2,000	37,000

It is claimed that these landholders obtain rarely more than three per cent. on their estates.

In the ninety years ending with 1870, rent in Ireland has only doubled, while in England and Scotland, where there is more security of tenure, it has tripled and sextupled.\*

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\*"The Life of Gladstone," by George Barnett Smith, London, 1879, Vol. II. p. 140.

### *SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF."*

5. The absenteeism of landlords causes a drain of money or produce from Ireland to pay rents, and for this outgoing expenditure there is no adequate return.

When, in 1846 and 1847, Boston was sending ship-loads of food to Ireland, there was twice enough food there to maintain the population, but the cattle and a great portion of the grain were drained away to pay rents, and the potato crop was nearly all that the population had to depend on for their own sustenance, and that failed. It is a most incisive fact that when you were helping Ireland she had food enough, but had to send it out of the country to pay absentee landlords, some of whom were leading lives not only of ease, but of dissipation, in London and Paris.

6. A system of tenancy-at-will makes the gains of the tillers of the soil most uncertain. "The Irish tenant," said John Stuart Mill, "is the only human being in existence who has nothing to gain by increased industry, and nothing to lose by increased idleness." In 1878 there were 820,000 paupers in Ireland.

The population of Ireland has indicated its distress by an emigration unexampled in modern history.

"A drift of men gone over the sea;

A drift of the dead where men should be."

7. The population of the island is yet out of all proportion to the capacities of the soil.

Ireland is not quite as large as the State of Maine; but it has eight times as many people. Imagine Ireland loosened from her moorings in the great deep, and drifted across the Atlantic with all her vested rights upon her as a cargo. Suppose that she anchors off the State of Maine and becomes a portion of the Union. What should we, as Americans, like to do in this strangely misgoverned country? One of the very first things that would occur if she should become a portion of the Union, would be the abolition of all her laws of primogeniture and entail. That reform accomplished, then, gradually, under the natural operations of trade, the land would come to belong to those who till the soil. Without assassination, without any riots, Ireland, with those two changes, might, little by little, recover her industrial health down to the very finger-tips of her hard-worked tenantry.

8. The exhaustion of the soil in Ireland is incapable of being remedied without the application to the processes of agriculture of more capital than is, in most cases, available.

9. The exhaustion of the soil produces diseases of crops, and especially of the potato crop.

10. The lack of diversification of industry in Ireland is such that when the potato crop fails famine occurs.

William III. was requested by the woollen manufacturers of England not only to discourage their branch of industry in Ireland, but to prevent it from being prosecuted there. He promised to do so, and was as good as his word. My central conviction on this whole topic is that Ireland's woes will never be cured except by the co-operation of English and Irish political and industrial forces. So long as English manufacturers and English politicians, and English kings and queens, discriminate against Ireland, or in any way endeavour to prevent there the operation of the natural laws of trade in producing diversification of industry, so long it will be futile to expect parliamentary action to soothe the land. In 1869 we had Gladstone's Irish Church Act passed, and in the next year the famous Irish Land Act of Gladstone's ministry. When these measures of justice had become law, British egotism drew over its face the veil of self-complacency, the fateful screen

*MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR,*

which shuts from England so many unpalatable truths. The average Briton is easily satisfied with himself. Ireland, according to British authority, was without a grievance, and ought to be without a complaint. Nevertheless, at this hour, fifteen thousand police and thirty thousand soldiers are needed to keep order in Ireland, such is the danger of agrarian riot, incendiarism, and murder !

11. Roman Catholicism has operated unfavourably on the development of the intelligence and enterprise of the population of Ireland.

In 1847 the wearied O'Connell left famished Ireland for Italy, hoping to die at Rome with the Pope's blessing. He died at Genoa ; his heart was embalmed and sent to Rome, and his body to Ireland ; and thus, in death as in life, the great agitator was the exact symbol and representative of the spirit of his people.

12. American competition in agricultural products causes Irish farmers to be undersold in British markets.

Here is a very curious poster (exhibiting it) which I regard as a sign of the times. It came from Birmingham, England, at a quite recent date. It reads :

**IMPORTANT NOTICE !**

**THE  
AMERICAN MEAT COMPANY  
OF**

**43 SMALLBROOK ST.,**

**Will OPEN those premises situated at**

**42 DALE END,**

**On FRIDAY, the 22nd inst.,**

**With a Large Supply of the FINEST AMERICAN  
BEEF AND MUTTON.**

**PRICES AS UNDER :**

<b>BOILING BEEF . . . . .</b>	<b>4d. to 7d. per lb.</b>
<b>ROASTING BEEF . . . . .</b>	<b>7d. to 9d. „</b>
<b>STEAK . . . . .</b>	<b>8d. to 11d. „</b>
<b>MUTTON . . . . .</b>	<b>6d. to 9d. „</b>

**A FRESH SUPPLY DAILY.**

Do you think that on the worn-out lands of Ireland, on the soil of England, exhausted in spite of the admirable system of rotation of crops, cattle can be raised cheaply enough to compete in the market with beef sold at these prices and brought all the way from Texas ? A gentleman well known in Boston, but who shall be nameless, has sent me a most interesting statement concerning the prices at which he buys beef on Beacon-street and at which he bought American beef at Birmingham. This poster shows you that American beef is sold for from fourpence to elevenpence, or from eight cents to twenty-two cents a pound in England. You will believe my informant when he says that he pays twenty-five cents for each pound of sirloin for his table on Beacon-street in Boston. Discerning men see the inevitable result of American competition as one chief force in the complication of the topic of land tenure in England and Ireland. A son of Thomas Hughes from London, with two of his nephews, has been for several years in Texas, engaged in cattle raising. The son is just now at Grosvenor Square, after the successful driving of his herd to market, and he has cleared on it thirty per cent. of his capital for the year. Other young Englishmen, under the advice of Thomas Hughes, have purchased sheep ranches on the highlands of Tennessee, where they can lead a more gentle and civilized life. So it is that the beef and mutton of our country hustle out of English markets the oxen and sheep

### SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF."

from British and Irish pastures. The facts are precisely analogous in regard to grain. When the wheat and grain of our prairies come fairly into competition with the costly-grown corn of Great Britain, they must drive a large part of the latter out of the market.

Why am I insisting on this point of American competition so much? Because I wish to face the whole topic and not merely a fragment of it. The abolition of the laws regarding primogeniture and entail will not cure all the distresses of Ireland. It will be efficient, but it will not be sufficient. I am no politician; I am in favour of peasant farms in England and Ireland; I am an American in my principles with regard to the laws of primogeniture and entail. But I cannot believe that a system of peasant proprietorship would save British markets from the most damaging American competition. You crowd your cattle on board a train at St. Louis; they rush across the continent, are shipped alive, landed at Liverpool and driven to Birmingham in such quantities that Ireland cannot compete with the deluge. What do cattle cost in Texas? Their salt, a man to drive them, general oversight. You cut no food for them in winters; you drive them from place to place; and the pasturage is free. Speaking roundly, one may say that the great pastures of the plateau States and mountain States are at the present moment substantially free to those who range over them. British agriculture is costly. You take immense crops from British soil, but to do this you put in as much as you take out. The system of rotation of crops is admirable in Great Britain; every peasant is obliged to follow it. As Emerson says, "The British Islands look as if they had been combed and rolled and finished with the pencil instead of the plow." This poster proves that cattle in America can be reared for the English market more cheaply than cattle in England. This is only one of the signs of the times which predict a competition coming with great rapidity upon the farmers of the British Islands, and which will grow more and more painful to agricultural interests in Great Britain as the years pass. For one, I think Thomas Hughes is right in sending his sons to Texas and his nephews to Tennessee. The whole case as to the land question in England, Scotland and Ireland, cannot be stated unless it is unflinchingly proclaimed that an industrial breeze which rises in Texas and on the plains and mountain plateaus of Colorado, and on the prairies of the Mississippi valley is, after all, the sternest wind with which the heavily-laden ship of the aristocratic institutions of Great Britain has at this moment to contend.

*What is the best method of relief for Ireland? The reversal of the causes of its distress.* Do you wish to know how to cure any disease? Ascertain its causes and reverse them.

Of course, I know that whoever settles the land question in Ireland will reduce to order the chaos of centuries. It is no part of my purpose here to give advice to England, although she gave advice to us in our civil war, and enforced it with a privateer or two! Philanthropic discussion in England was often appealed to by Daniel Webster as a motive for reform in the United States. The opinion of the civilized world is worth something in every part of Christendom as a motive to reform. If we are to reverse the causes of the distress of Ireland, what must we do?

1. When a man possessed of a landed estate dies without making a will, let the law divide his property equally among his children. Without denying a man's right to will his landed property to his eldest born son, let the law of primogeniture be disregarded when Government is called on to dispose of the property of intestates.



*MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR,*

That is an entering wedge, you say, for the abolishing of aristocratic institutions in Great Britain. What if it is? Great Britain is not wholly made up of those whose business it is to sit in easy chairs and do as their fathers have done before them. England is not peopled wholly by noblemen; and although I think a man is a man even if he is a nobleman, so I think a man is a man even if he is a Hodge in a furrow, or a poor peasant lower down than Burns was in his day. I should feel all the historic spirits in this house reproving me were I not to exhibit keen sympathy with the depressed condition of the lowest agricultural labourers in Great Britain and Ireland.

John Bright has again and again proposed moderate initiatory measures looking to the slow reform of the British laws of primogeniture and entail, and again and again they have been thrown out of Parliament. If the Lords were not against it, you could carry the law that when a man dies intestate the Government shall divide his property equally. England may have to suffer terribly before she can pass that reform through both her Houses. It may be that famine in Ireland and the distress of English agricultural labourers will bring British legislators to their senses. Do you remember that Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, proposed to cold ears in Parliament the repeal of the corn laws? When famine in Ireland grew very alarming, he at last obtained a hearing and carried his appeal through the Lower House. In the Upper House, the Duke of Wellington, when the peers came to him to ask permission to vote against it, replied, "You cannot dislike it more than I do; but we must all vote for it." Thus the great famine of 1846 in Ireland was one of the chief forces, as every Briton knows, in causing the repeal of the corn laws. And so if Ireland has distress enough, if the agricultural population of England, wealthy as she is and proud of her enormous income, absolutely starves, the day may come when this little measure of justice may be carried through Parliament, in spite of the slight clipping it takes off the edge of the law of primogeniture.

2. Abolish all laws of entail or practices of inheritance going beyond the life of the direct inheritor.

3. Abolish feudal customs and formulas which make the transfer of land difficult, slippery, and expensive.

Why should it be any more difficult to transfer an acre of land than a ship from one owner to another? You have a great legal profession in England, and it is certain that a large amount of discouragement is usually cast upon English reform of the laws for the transfer of landed property, whenever you go to lawyers to get their advice. Prof. Stuart Blackie says, that one secret reason why the land tenuro of Ireland is not reformed, is that lawyers have great interests at stake in the present complicated customs of transfer of landed property: and that the middle class, who are absorbed in the keen pursuit of wealth and social position, have no time to attend to the distresses of peasants; and so, through public indifference, and the selfishness of the legal profession in large part, this topic gets very little attention.

4. By all just methods let encumbered estates be opened for sale according to the natural demands of the laws of trade, and the evils of absentee ownership of the soil, and of the system of middlemen, be gradually remedied.

5. Let the system of tenancy-at-will be superseded by the extension of Ulster tenant-right over the whole island.

What is Ulster tenant-right? One form of it provides that while a man is honest, industrious, and temperate, he shall have the right of staying on his holding as long as he pays his rent. He shall not be turned off at the mere whim of his

### SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF."

landlord. This custom also secures that when he is turned off, he shall be paid for the unexhausted value of any improvement he has made. The legislation of Gladstone in 1870 extended that right over a large part of Ireland, and yet his reform does not secure fixity of tenure to the peasant nor prevent rack-renting and eviction. One form of the Ulster tenant-right requires that a sum should be paid for the good-will of the farm by the incoming to the outgoing tenant.\* Those just laws which have grown up in the province of Ulster, and which have greatly diminished incendiary fires there and mobs and riots, generation after generation, ought to be extended, in practice as well as in theory, over the whole green surface of Ireland.

6. Let government aid in improving the Irish waste lands.

7. Let societies be formed in aid to land ownership and the formation of a thrifty class of peasant proprietors.

8. Let manufactures be introduced into Ireland, and such a diversification of industry take place there that the population cannot be thrown into either a famine or a scarcity, by the failure of a single product of agriculture.

9. Let local sentiment in Ireland frown on riot and incendiarism and murder, so that capital will be encouraged to enter the island.

10. Let abundant aid be given by the philanthropic in England and America to any who are starving.

11. Let the Irish population emancipate themselves from the popular ignorance so characteristic of exclusively Romish countries.

12. Let the over-population of Ireland be copiously reduced by emigration.

*What is Mr. Parnell's plan for the relief of the distress of Ireland?* It consists of two parts,—temporary measures and final measures.

The temporary measures are :—

1. That the occupants of the soil should demand a reduction of rent from their landlords.

2. That unless this is granted, the tenants should refuse to pay anything.

3. That government should supply work to the people in improving the lands of Ireland.

4. That, meanwhile, when processes of eviction are applied to the case, the tenant, at risk of riot, should hold on to the land.

Well, gentlemen, within three weeks lives have been lost in riot in Ireland, on account of this advice of Mr. Parnell. He says he is precisely in O'Connell's mood, and is opposed to all revolutionary measures. O'Connell was arrested for revolutionary measures organized by reckless parties representing young Ireland, and placed beyond his control by men who were really not his representatives. I am not accusing Mr. Parnell of being a revolutionist. He is far from an incendiary orator in his style. He has the cool modern British parliamentary methods of discussion. But what does he mean by his advice "Hold on to the land?" You notice that his advice takes hold of his followers here. Whatever may be the effect, hold on to the land! Here is a widow who has paid half a pound, two dollars and a half, to her landlord. She had fifty dollars' worth of straw in her yard. Correspondence which I have just been reading says this straw was burned by her neighbours, because she paid two dollars and a half without having it reduced to a dollar. That is what comes of this advice. There are five or six Irish counties to-day held in order by the police and soldiers because of the mischievous influence

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\* See Fawcett, "Political Economy," p. 215.

*MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR,*

on the peasants of these inculcations to hold on to the land, and do so even at the risk of riot.

His final measures Mr. Parnell has not yet presented with entire frankness in this country. I have been obliged, in imagination, to cross the ocean in order to find out what he means by his vague hints. He is probably somewhat disappointed by the attitude of the American press and people, and has certainly adopted a cautious method of procedure. But if you look into his hints, and read what is between the lines in his speeches as an agitator, and examine British authority on the topic, not in the utterances of those opposed to him, but in the proclamations issued by the bodies he represents abroad, you will find that his final measures are these :

1. Expropriation of the present landed proprietors in Ireland after the methods of Frederic William III. of Prussia in expropriating landed proprietors in his dominions in 1811.

2. Compensation by Government of the expropriated owners.

3. Loans of money by Government to the occupiers of the soil to enable them to become its owners.

4. The abolition of primogeniture and entail.

5. Irish legislative independence of England.

The fourth of these five measures most Americans will endorse, but not the others.

Expropriation is the word which Mr. Parnell never utters in a loud tone in this country, but which is at the centre of his scheme. This interferes flatly with the fundamental right of freedom of contract. Such interference is admissible under military necessity. I do not say that it was not practised in the United States when we freed the slaves. But the question is, whether any great political necessity has occurred in Ireland for such expropriations.

John O'Connor Power, a member of Parliament, defends the Irish National Land League in these rather startling words : "The proposal, stripped of all ambiguity, is to abolish landlordism and make the cultivators the owners of the soil. It is proposed that the state should take over the land, giving the landlords proper compensation, and settle the tenants upon it permanently as tenant proprietors. This proposal, considered in its financial aspect alone, will appear formidable to many people, for it is estimated that it would require £250,000,000 to carry it out." \*

*What are the objections to Mr. Parnell's plan ?*

1. It leads to riot.

2. It leads to revolution.

3. Expropriation by Government interferes with the fundamental right of freedom of contract.

4. It is condemned by the Liberal party itself in British politics.

I know that Parnell's opposers in Great Britain say that Irish land reform is undiluted communism. I make no such charge. I know that it is said that Fenianism made a contract with continental socialism. I make no such charge. But this I say, that the forcible thrusting of men out of their property, and the governmental compensation of them when they do not agree to the bargain, is a trifle too much like what socialism teaches us to expect. Compulsory socialism and voluntary socialism are two very different things. Not far from the time when compulsory

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\* *The Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1879, p. 962.

### *SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF."*

socialism shall claim authority on the American continent and begin to practise expropriation, let socialists look out for thunderbolts in their breasts.

5. It is unnecessary to adopt expropriation as a means of relief, if the other numerous means of relief which can be legally applied to the case are adopted.

6. American competition is such that even a reform of the system of land tenure in the British Islands will not relieve the agricultural class there from distress without copious emigration.

I hold in my hand a letter of a statesman who cannot be accused of indifference to the woes of Ireland. Past three-score years and ten, he is yet the amazement of the planet for his intellectual and physical vigour. Here are the words of the great orator who has lately caused the granite hills of Scotland to surge like the waves of the sea with enthusiasm for the Liberal cause in British politics. Gladstone says: "You may depend on my giving attention to any plan which may seem to me advantageous with reference to the land of Ireland. I do not, however, as at present advised, see the character of practicability in any design based on expropriating, with compensation, the present landed proprietors."\* I would send Gladstone's grave opinion after Parnell, in his transcontinental trip, and with it the blessing of O'Connell and of General Meade, who drove the Fenians out of Canada.

Let the Royal Hill of Tara, the Curragh of Kildare, and the Rath of Mullaghmast, take counsel of the field of Runnymede, and of the American prairies.

May the time never come when it shall be said of Great Britain and Ireland as Pliny said of Rome: "Great estates have ruined the empire! *LATIFUNDIA PERDIDERE ITALIAM.*" †

### THE LECTURE.

ONE half of the modern scepticism is anti-supernaturalistic to the last fibre. But another half is supernaturalistic also to the last fibre. It is important to ask sceptics and Christians to notice that modern infidelity is so far antagonistic to itself that it is sufficiently answered by its own antagonisms. If the opinions of recent popular scepticism could start up to-day in this hall, as Minervas from Jupiter's heads, from the brains in which they lie, and appear in the air armed from head to foot, I, as a defender of the Christian faith, should not tremble at the sight. Long before they could reach me they would in mid-air have fallen upon each other in exterminating war, and, like the heroes of Valhalla, have cloven each other in halves, only to find each other rising again, while across the bloody rain would fall the serene bow of the evidences of the Christian faith.

I think it useful, therefore, to call the attention of any who point to the growth of spiritualism as a growth of scepticism, to the fact that they handle a two-edged sword. The growth of modern Spiritualism is commonly alleged by sceptics as a proof of the

\* London Times, January 3rd, 1880.  
xviii. 6.

† Pliny: "Natural History,"

*MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR,*

growth of scepticism. I think the estimates put forward that there are some six or eight millions of spiritualists in this country are among the wildest conceivable; and yet there is no doubt that the growth of Spiritualism is very considerable. But this fact has two sides. The Spiritualist body is divided between a part who call themselves Christian Spiritualists and a part who are plainly infidel Spiritualists. The former is small in number, but not the less intelligent portion of the mass. An infidel Spiritualist is evidently the most inconsistent of infidels. The modern Spiritualist is the last man who can consistently deny the fact of the supernatural.

I am aware that whoever touches Spiritualism treads along a line on which, if he slips, there hangs over him the crack of doom. It is altogether too early yet to make any other than hypothetical assertions concerning Spiritualism, either as to its alleged facts or as to its future as a sect. Until the phenomena of Spiritualism have been more scientifically investigated than they have been thus far in its history, it is unsafe to speak of its leading propositions other than hypothetically. All I say concerning Spiritualism is "if." I beg that it may be noticed that the assertions I am to make concerning it are simply and only hypothetical assertions.

The mind of this age is thrown into religious doubt chiefly on the point of the relation of the natural to the supernatural. The questions whether the Scriptures are a record or an authority, or in part the one and in part the other, and concerning the character and atoning work of the Founder of Christianity, lie capsule in this. I am not about to assert that Spiritualism may bring a day in which the cultivators of science will be reverent believers in the fact of the supernatural and in the miracles of the Bible. Epes Sargent thinks it will. William Mountford thought it must. Robert Dale Owen was of the same opinion. But Katie King put him in her pocket, and almost put the "Atlantic Monthly" there also. It is said that a very different mind,—namely, Elizabeth Barrett Browning,—thought it would. In my judgment, it is vastly rash to assert this. But it appears to me highly important that those who fear and that those who desire the success of scepticism, should notice, first, that the Spiritualistic body is divided between Christian and infidel Spiritualists, and, secondly, that the logical result, whatever the practical might be, of the proof by Spiritualism of the existence of modern evidence of the supernatural, should that proof ever be given, would be a perhaps logically needless, but in these days a practically useful, confirmation of the ancient evidence of the supernatural.

### *SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF."*

I hold five propositions to be true concerning Spiritualism, the last three of which are simply hypothetical :—

1. The chief propositions of modern Spiritualism are, first, the possibility of intercourse between human and disembodied, or supermundane, spirits ; second, the trustworthiness of that intercourse as a source of religious knowledge.

2. Spiritualism has by no means proved the second of these propositions, and probably will be as far from proving it after five hundred years more of effort to establish it as it is now after five hundred years of effort to do so.

3. If the first of these propositions were established, and it should be impossible to establish the second, all that would be proved would be the existence and agency of evil spirits—a position neither new nor unscriptural.

4. If the first proposition should be proved, great harm would result, at least temporarily, for masses of the people would ignorantly or enthusiastically believe the second proved also.

5. If the first proposition should be proved, great good would result ; for, if Spiritualism should prove to be simply modern demonology, it would yet contain modern evidence of the supernatural, and the modern evidence would superabundantly confirm the ancient.

I do not forget the distinction between the supernatural and the miraculous, nor that between the supernatural and the inexplicable. I do not forget that those who are not convinced by Moses and the prophets might not be convinced by the best modern evidence of the supernatural. But the scientific proof that modern evidence of the supernatural exists would be, logically, the destruction of anti-supernaturalism.

The chain of argument by which we have been lifting ourselves up to a belief in the historical reality of the ideal of human nature at its climax, is broken if the narratives in the New Testament concerning supernatural occurrences are treated as absolutely unhistorical. But materialism in our days does not regard it worth while even to raise the question whether anything supernatural has ever occurred. Let ministers come out of their sacred desks, let them hearken in the laboratories, and when they hear the secret thought of materialism they will find themselves listening to a sneer at the whole supernatural history of the Bible. I know what I venture, for this scepticism has spread from scientific into mercantile circles, and into the coteries of literary free-thinkers, many of whom have no scientific training ; and if the ministry is to be frank with itself, and draw over its vision no obscuring veil, if we are to face unwelcome truth, al-

*MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL; OR,*

though our eyeballs be seared, we must see that anti-supernaturalism is, temporarily, a rising cause in the world, and that, with all its ascent, must occur a sinking of belief in the supernatural element of the Bible.

Before more than one New England college, before more than one prominent theological seminary, I have read precisely these five propositions to which you have done me the honour to listen ; and they have been in print several years, and I know personally that they have been endorsed by very high authorities as not dangerous. All I intend to say on spiritualism is summarized in those five propositions. I ask no one here to be responsible for my opinions. You are exonerated from all responsibility for positions which you do not yourselves indorse ; but, acting alone, resolved to face truth wherever I find it, I must confess that I have a personal interest in the course of thought I am now emphasizing such as I have not had in any topic which it was ever my fortune to present to this audience. What I have now said here on spiritualism I have said elsewhere for eleven years, and I do not know that I have been anywhere called to account for heresy on this point. I forbid you to accuse me either of being a Spiritualist or of evasion. There is an attitude on this subject which the pulpit may take without falling into either of the two dangerous extremes, equally dangerous, I think, of credulity on the one side, and of dodging on the other.

The impossibility of the supernatural, Ernest Renan affirms, is the first tenet in the science of modern historical criticism. "The New Testament narratives cannot be true, because they contain accounts of miracles," anti-supernaturalism says from Hume to Strauss. "A theological miracle," Theodore Parker taught, "is as impossible as a round triangle." I do not predict the practical results ; but, on the supposition that the manifestations at, for example, Stratford, Conn., which the *Boston Journal of Chemistry* said, some years since, it believed occurred, and that it could not explain, did actually occur ; and on the supposition that they prove the action of disembodied spirits, or that they prove simply the action of supermundane intelligence, then, logically, Stratford answers Strauss.

Let me insist, however, on certain reasons for caution as to credulity concerning the existence, even of evil spirits ; for, in spite of the concessions of Crookes and Wallace in England, and of Zöllner, Fichte, and Ulrici in Germany, there are most incisive objections to admitting that communication with disembodied spirits is possible, or even that a new force has been discovered.

1. Reformed Spiritualists in great numbers affirm that there is

### *SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF."*

nothing supernatural in any of the phenomena called spiritual manifestations.

2. The feats of legerdemain in the hands of its greatest masters are marvellous ; its methods vary from year to year ; and are unknown to most of the investigators of spiritualistic phenomena.

3. It is conceded by the most candid and the best educated Spiritualists, that a vast proportion of these phenomena is the result of trickery. Robert Dale Owen, after being an investigator of Spiritualism for years, was deceived by a coarse impersonation of a female trickster calling herself Katie King.

4. The alleged spiritualistic communications are so contradictory to each other, that no one who follows the method of science can treat them as a source of knowledge.

5. Experts who have partially investigated the phenomena have not been agreed in their conclusions except in rare instances. The overwhelming mass of really scientific authority is against the theory of the supernatural origin of any smallest fraction of the phenomena.

Horace Greeley offered for years a great premium to any one who would say distinctly where Sir John Franklin was in the Arctic regions, and afterwards have his statement proved by discovery. Information as to prices on the other side of the Atlantic he frequently called for ; and although the reply was made that in such mercenary considerations the spirits could not be interested, he thought they ought to be interested in helping Lady Franklin out of her distress ; but they were not.

6. The manifestations themselves have never, as yet, been investigated with scientific thoroughness and precision. No theory as to Spiritualism exists which has borne the test, as any true theory must bear the test, of rectification by persistent and repeated scientific experiment.

Here are what I suppose to be the six best books on Spiritualism that the world contains. It is my plan when taking up a new theme, to find the best three books concerning it in English, and the best three in German, and here they are, on our present topic, according to my humble judgment [exhibiting six books]. This is a volume of William Crookes, Fellow of the Royal Society, a purely scientific work, "*Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism*," reprinted from the *Quarterly Journal of Science*. Nobody sneers at Crookes as a man fully acquainted with scientific methods. Here is a well-known book on "*Miracles and Modern Spiritualism*," by Wallace, one of the founders of the doctrine of evolution. It goes farther than



either of the others; it resolutely justifies the theory that communication is possible with spirits. I place next this book, which has the mark of honour from the public library (one cover has been worn off and the volume stoutly bound anew), "The Report of the London Dialectical Society on Spiritualism." It was published in 1871. A number of cultivated ladies and gentlemen, without any professed medium to help them, did secure marvellous manifestations, according to this statement. I regard those as the most winnowed books which the English language contains on Spiritualism.

I hold in my hand the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, a periodical to which I have often referred before, as the best of its class in the world, and here in its 17th volume, 1879, is the famous article of Ulrici on Spiritualism. That essay, although not yet translated into English, is soon, I hope, to be given to the public through our tongue. It has received a reply from Professor Wundt, of Leipsic, and the answer has been given to the American public in the *Popular Science Monthly*, and I beg you to read Wundt before you read Ulrici. I met the other day a student fresh from Leipsic, where, according to his testimony, the whole air is full of discussion on this strange theme, lately investigated by several Leipsic and Gottingen Professors. My authority informs me that Wundt is not exercising so much influence on the young men of the University as this article by Ulrici. Here is a book entitled, "Der Neuere Spiritualismus," Leipsic, 1878, by I. H. von Fichte, who is now dead, and this goes nearly as far as Wallace. But here is the supreme authority as to experimental facts, a very elaborate German work, Professor Zöllner's "Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen," 1879. It is made up principally of discussions of other subjects, but the plates at the end of the three volumes illustrate the experiments lately performed by the Leipsic Professors, and discussed by Ulrici and Fichte in their articles. Here are tables represented which became invisible; here are rings, and bells, and slates, and the other paraphernalia with which we are only too sadly familiar, all outlined at last in this absolutely overawing scientific work. One of the theories of Zöllner, the author, is, that if spirits live, they exist in a fourth dimension of space. My student informant said that he heard about nothing so much as this fourth dimension of space in which spirits live. Zöllner, Fichte and Ulrici in Germany; Wallace, Crookes and the Dialectical Society in England, — these are the best authorities on the relations of Spiritualism to science. I recommend these books to any who care to look at valuable literature, on a theme on which there are mountains of published rubbish. This is

### *SPIRITUALISM AS AN "IF"*

the little grain of wheat that I have found under the Alps and Himalayas of the chaff of the literature of Spiritualism.

Pardon me, whatever your reading may be, if I beg you to exercise an almost preternatural logical vigilance in all your investigations of the supernatural.

1. An immense distinction exists between proving the action of supermundane intelligence and proving the action of disembodied spirits.

2. An immense distinction exists between proving the action of disembodied spirits, and proving the identity of these spirits with spirits known in the flesh.

3. An immense distinction also exists between proving either, or any, or all of these things, and proving that either, or any, or all of them, make Spiritualistic communications a trustworthy source of religious knowledge.

To overlook either of these distinctions is to rush into very nearly blank insanity on this theme. But hundreds of enthusiastic people are constantly overlooking them, and into blank insanity have rushed. The Spiritualist newspapers and books are most of them there. The amount of evil directly and indirectly resulting from modern Spiritualism is enormous. If only to stay the delusion of the people, and keep moral leprosy out of certain circles of society, Spiritualism deserves the most deliberate investigation at the hands of scientific men. If a man wishes to have two wives he often becomes a Spiritualist. You say I venture too much by touching this theme. I should venture more omitting it, for if there is any rule young men love to see respected, it is fair play and no evasion. This topic I will not skip, for I know that in New England and in the west, and in England and on the continent of Europe, there are men who are undermining some of the loftiest ideals of social life, and doing this in the name of Spiritualism—undermining some of the fundamental truths of Christianity, and doing this in the name of an alleged revelation which, if it be a revelation at all, most painful facts show to come from beneath, and not from above.

It is time now that the pulpit should be frank enough to face this theme, even if it be proved that modern demonology is a fact, as some sound heads think there is scientific evidence that it is. I do not think so. I am not only not a spiritualist, I am not a modern demonologist. But I am a student of the conflicts of infidelity within itself, and if I have a hopeful outlook it is because I find on one side infidels who are supernaturalistic to the core, and on the other, sceptics anti-supernaturalistic to the core. Popular materialism,

*MODERN EVIDENCE OF THE SUPERNATURAL.*

which fills the West and the East, has no more subtle foe than this supernatural belief. Lift up the word "if," "if," "if," and call no pause until science has determined whether indeed any have spoken behind the veil. They did in the past if they do in the present. Should it be possible to prove only that evil spirits speak, it would follow that there is something behind the veil. Truth or illusion, Spiritualism quickens the distinctively Christian faith of many, even while it undermines that of more. It is, perhaps, the subtlest popular, though by no means the subtlest scholarly foe with which materialism and the opponents of the belief in the supernatural have to deal. It may be that there is in Spiritualism an undiscovered fact which will become a two-edged sword against rationalism itself. *If* Zöllner, Fichte and Ulrici, Wallace and Crookes, have not mistaken appearances for facts, there may be in Spiritualism a new star yet below the horizon, but from before which, when once it is fully risen, the night-hag of the Denial of the Supernatural, which broods on this sceptical and moaning age as a vampire, may be scared from the spiritual veins it is draining.

Say spirits blue and black the tables tip :  
A devil's knuckle rap may turn us pale ;  
It proves there is somewhat behind the veil ;  
A whispered lie proves yet a whispering lip.  
Rap louder, fiends ; for if the age let slip  
Belief in miracle, ye will not fail  
To bring it back ; a barbèd tail  
Or split hoof from the darkness doubt may trip.  
I pray our faith from science not aloof  
May clip the tail and pare the devil's hoof.  
Slices of each beneath the microscope ;  
Then star-eyed faith with lynx-eyed doubt may cope.  
If split hoofs can be touched, the time has been  
When white wings and God's forehead could be seen.

## EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND LEIPSI PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.

### THE PRELUDE.—"CHINESE STUDENTS IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS."

IN the year 1850, Yung Wing, a Chinese student in cue and tunic, entered Yale College. In 1860, an English and French force of some twenty-five thousand soldiers captured the summer palace of the Emperor of China, and by assailing the city of Pekin, forced an entrance through the walls of Chinese exclusiveness for ambassadors from all nations. In 1870, California began to fear seriously an inundation of Mongolians. In 1880, there are, on the west coast of the United States, about one hundred thousand Chinamen; and on the east coast, in our best American schools, a hundred or a hundred and twenty Chinese students from the upper classes in the Celestial Empire. At the same time we have a Chinese Educational Commission at Hartford, and a Chinese mandarin, regularly installed as Professor, on the banks of the Charles yonder, at Cambridge, in the foremost university of the land.

Seeking authentic information concerning the stately march of these great providential events, I have corresponded with specialists among the professors who teach the Chinese and Japanese students now in the United States. I hold in my hand a most keen, careful, strategic letter from the principal of Phillips Academy, Dr. Bancroft. Two of his Chinese pupils are seated on my right, and one of them is a son of a member of the Imperial Court of China.

Andover, Mass., Jan. 31st, 1880.

MY DEAR MR. COOK,—The presence of Chinese and Japanese students in our American schools in considerable numbers, studying after a careful method, and with a definite aim, is significant of something more than a spirit of curiosity, adventure, enterprise, the love of knowledge, or the greed of gain; of something more than better means of transit, the increase of traffic, the breaking down of exclusiveness, the victories of diplomacy. The Eastern civilizations are laying hold upon the Western, and not only our industries, our arts, our sciences, but also our history, our literature, our methods of inquiry, and our religious ideas are going back to the Orient in the persons of educated young men, trained among us from boyhood under careful supervision, and quickened by the inspiration of a career waiting before them.

At present, more Japanese students are going than coming; but the Chinese Government has more than a hundred students now in this country, and, with respect to these, several points are worthy of special mention.

They are selected with care, after a long probation. They are sent here to remain, on an average, fifteen years, and to pass through the successive stages of elementary, secondary, college, and professional or technical, education. They are preparing for a great diversity of employments. They are not allowed to denationalize themselves, but all their studies are carried on with direct reference to their future career in their native land. Their conformity to our modes of dress, and our habits of society and living, is a matter of convenience and

## EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND

courtesy, not a surrender. They come to get the most and the best we can give, but only to take and use it for the benefit of their country. Far more than our boys at West Point and Annapolis, they regard themselves as already in the service of the State. On their return, they are expected to devote their education to the service of the nation in its widest sense.

To secure the best results, they are placed, two by two, in selected families, sent in small groups to our best schools and colleges, yet kept in constant communication with their own countrymen, and in living sympathy with their own language and people. They are allowed a generous support, and held to a strict accountability. They are allowed perfect freedom of opinion and belief, yet restricted, for wise and obvious reasons, in its premature expression.

The results, so far as I may be allowed to speak of them, are just what might be expected. The students are models of industry, zeal, politeness, and order. They are willing to pay the price of scholarship, and they get it. In obedience to authority, reverence for superiors, gentleness of manners, and a certain reticence and diplomatic turn of mind, they are characteristically Chinese. Appropriating our learning, they do not renounce their own. Seeking knowledge in all directions, the truths of the Bible engage their special attention and often win their heart.

For such men, in such circumstances, with such a future, who can forbear to pray?

Yours, very truly,

CECIL F. P. BANCROFT.

The West Coast does not agree with the East Coast of the United States on the Chinese question. What is the key-note of our opinion on the Atlantic slope? There was a woman endowed of God with a poetic temperament and with devout instincts more than usually prophetic. She was the authoress of the hymn beginning with the line, "I love to steal awhile away." A son of hers, the Rev. S. R. Brown, went to China as a missionary and became principal of the Morrison School at Hong Kong. He brought back from there, in 1847, three Chinese pupils, who became members of the Monson Academy in Massachusetts, and of his mother's own family. One of these boys was Yung Wing, and it was due to the religious training which the youth received under the roof-tree of the authoress of this renowned hymn, that they all three became Christians.

In 1859 one of these boys, named Wong Fun, went to Edinburgh, Scotland, where he was graduated in medicine with honour. In 1856 he established himself as a physician in Canton, and became the most conspicuous and trusted member of his profession east of Calcutta.

Another of the boys, named Wong Shing, after learning the art of printing, and acting for years at Hong Kong as coadjutor of the learned Dr. Legge, now of Oxford University, is at present official interpreter of the Chinese Embassy to the United States.

Yung Wing left off his cue and tunic in his first year in college, twice gained a prize for English composition, and was graduated with credit in 1854. While yet a student at Yale, he was dreaming of the establishment of a Chinese Educational Commission in America. Sixteen years passed after his graduation before he accomplished his object. He pursued it in China with extraordinary patience, courage, and sagacity. He returned to his native land in 1855, and was afterwards private secretary to the United States Commissioner, law student at Hong Kong, translator in the Customs service at Shanghai, travelling inland-agent of a great silk and tea house, and finally, for a short time, a successful merchant on his own account. In all these changes he was seeking access to influential public men for the purpose of recommending to them his scheme for the education of native Chinese youth abroad. His college study of astronomy won for him the

### LEIPSIĆ PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.

favour of a Chinese scholar of eminence. The latter introduced him to a Chinese Viceroy, Commander-in-Chief of the Imperial Army, then engaged in suppressing the great Taeping rebellion. Yung Wing was called into the government service, became a mandarin, and interested the foremost Chinese statesmen in his college dream. The result was that he induced the Chinese government to grant 1,500,000 dollars for the founding of a Chinese Educational Commission. He himself chose Hartford, in the United States, as the place for the establishment of this enterprise, one of the most remarkable and significant in the recent educational history of the world. A noble government building has been erected at Hartford by the Chinese government. Some 100,000 dollars are expended annually on the Commission. As a result of its operations, there will be in China in ten years from now perhaps a hundred Chinese young men in governmental employment, educated in all Occidental learning, and able to cope with Western diplomacy, and to pour into China the fruits of the civilization of Europe and America.\*

I have now the honour to bring to your notice a letter from the patriot, scholar, and statesman, Commissioner Yung Wing himself :

Washington, D. C., January 31, 1890.

REV. JOSEPH COOK :

DEAR SIR,—The Chinese government, in sending students here to be educated at its own expense, has taken a new departure from its traditional line of policy.

It virtually recognizes the fact that the isolation to which China was in a great measure involuntarily subjected by natural and geographical barriers, as well as by the most cumbrous and difficult of languages, was incompatible with her well-being.

China realizes the fact that her position in the family of nations, forced upon her by Western powers, is not only novel, but one demanding ideas and resources to maintain it, different from those employed in her whole historic experience.

She had met the full force of Occidental civilization. In this contact she was confronted with races whose central idea of the State is the full recognition of individual rights and obligations, and whose political doctrine is individual development—the State for the people and not the people for the State—races who derive their intelligence from scientific knowledge, and feed their religious cravings with supernatural truths.

These central ideas constitute Western civilization, and it is for the study of these truths that the students are sent.

The United States, out of all the Western nations, were chosen for the education of these young men, because it was supposed that the doctrines of the inalienable rights of humanity as enunciated by the United States Constitution would naturally find in this country the highest development and illustration, as well as a universal application.

China was led to think so ; but I am afraid she has good reason to think otherwise.

Let the American people who do not wish to go back on their political principles speak out their convictions.—I am, very truly yours,

YUNG WING.

When the land of Confucius asks simple international justice from the land of Washington, shall the appeal be made in vain ? The brilliant Chinese students now in American schools will soon be in Government employment in their own empire, and will not easily be cheated, or browbeaten in diplomacy.

I listen to the waves of Chinese progress. I listen to the rising of the new tide which will carry the slow junks of Chinese custom over the sand-bar of exclusive-

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\* See the very valuable lecture of the Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, of Hartford, on "The Hope of China," *New York Tribune Extra*, No. 40.

## EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND

ness, over the sand-bar of Confucianism, over the sand-bar of all Pagan practices. The first ripple audible in history of this rising sea is the sound of an American hymn. "I love to steal awhile away," the verse says; and so the new tide in Chinese affairs steals upon the coast of time under the roof-tree of a New England authoress. The Chinese Educational Commission at Hartford is the initial wave of resonance in the opinion of the East Coast of the United States as to the Chinese question, and we mean that the whole rising anthem of the tide of the regeneration of Asia shall not have in it one sound dissonant with this key-note strain.

Open wide, ye gates of gold  
To the Dragon's banner-fold !  
Builders of the mighty wall,  
Bid your mountain barriers fall !  
So may the girdle of the sun  
Bind the East and West in one.  
Till Nevada's breezes fan  
The snowy peaks of Ta-Siene-Shan—  
Till Erie blends its waters blue  
With the waves of Tung-Ting-Hu—  
Till deep Missouri lends its flow  
To swell the rushing Hoang-Ho !

—O. W. HOLMES, at the Burlinghame Banquet in Boston, 1868.

On my right are representatives of what would be called in other countries the nobility of China. There are no nobles in the Chinese Empire. Learning gives official position there. Civil Service examinations, surpassing in thoroughness our own, are the doors of entrance to public employment. The young men who sit before you have come from the other side of the globe under governmental direction, and are intending to take back to the antipodes whatever learning they gain here for the benefit of their country. On my left are the representatives of the men who are trampled under the feet of the West Coast of the United States. I wish to set the Chinese mandarin class [pointing to those on the right] at work for the defence of the Chinese working class [pointing to those on the left].

What my wishes or yours may be as to the Chinese question is of little consequence. What the wishes of Almighty Providence are is the question of commanding interest. A series of remarkable events appears to indicate the purpose of the Supreme powers to send learning and Christianity into Asia, and to make the educated classes there ultimately the protectors of the working classes, and the Chinese Government itself a match for the demagogues of the sandlots who would raise dust in our eyes as we contemplate these providential plans.

California is so placed that she cannot well avoid commercial intimacy with China. Almighty God is weaving together the opposite shores of the Pacific, and opening the Golden Gate to the commerce of Asia, and no set of hoodlums has wit or force enough to keep down the latch! California is one of the gates of Asia, and for one I thank God that the gates are already ajar.

The most important question in the whole Chinese problem appears to me to be not what is popular, but what is inevitable. Lines of ocean transit are shooting across all the great seas. What is the East Coast view of the Chinese question? It is that the plan of Providence for the regeneration of Asia will prevail, and that the inevitable will become the actual. What is inevitable?

1. American commerce will reach one quarter of the way around the world,

*LEIPSIC PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.*

instead of three-quarters of the way around it, to obtain the teas and silks of China and Japan.

2. The commercial intercourse of the Pacific coast with Asia will be large.

3. San Francisco, as she looks toward the sunset, will for ages yet confront more than half of the population of the world.

4. The great port of Asiatic commerce with the United States will be at San Francisco.

5. The relations of that port to Asia will be, therefore, matters not only of municipal and State importance, but of national, and international importance.

6. In determining what these relations shall be, New York and Boston and Chicago, together with Canton, Shanghai, and Peking, have great interests at stake, and will claim a right to be heard as well as San Francisco.

7. The students which the Chinese government educates in the United States, the embassies which China sends to Occidental nations, and the emigrants who return to her shores, will acquaint China with American and European political, industrial, educational, and religious ideas and customs.

8. Railways and telegraphs and manufactures will be introduced into China; and produce an industrial regeneration of eastern Asia.

9. Schools, newspapers, and libraries, like those of Western nations, will be introduced, and produce an educational regeneration.

10. The astonishing political, industrial, and educational changes which have already taken place in Japan by her imitation of Occidental customs, will hasten similar changes in China.

11. The industrial and educational regeneration of China will afford improved opportunities for its political and religious regeneration.

12. Whatever political governments may do, the Christian Church throughout the world will seek the industrial, political, educational and religious regeneration of Asia.

13. The industrial, educational, and religious amelioration of Asia will create new wants on the part of her population, and the supply of these will give new importance to Asiatic commerce.

14. The Pacific coast will possess extraordinary geographical advantages for this commerce.

15. The United States, however, will not be without rivalry in the trade with the Orient, and Great Britain, especially, will cling to the pre-eminence she has won at immense cost in commerce with China and Japan.

16. The United States will not allow the trade with the Orient to be monopolized by a few favoured nations.

17. Great commercial considerations will require that the treaties of the United States with China should continue to secure, as they now do, to American citizens residing there, equal rights with those of any other foreigner residing there.

18. Americans in China cannot have equal rights with those of any other foreigners residing there, unless we grant to Chinamen in America equal rights with those of any other foreigner residing here.

19. China and Japan, having entered the family of nations, with which treaties must be made according to the rules of international law, will be justified by the public sentiment of the world in refusing to Americans in China the rights of the most favoured nation there, if the United States refuse to the Chinese in America the rights of the most favoured nation here.

20. To treat immigration from China as we do not that from other nations, and to fail to keep our treaties with China as we do not fail in the case of other



### EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND

nations, will, therefore, affect most disastrously great industrial and commercial, as well as political and religious, interests, which depend on the peaceful and free intercourse of Asia and America.

The East Coast view, which these propositions outline, it is my purpose to emphasize, in rivalry with the West Coast view, which I obtained last summer—from where? Not from the steeples of San Francisco; not from the heights of her government buildings. I obtained it from the gutters and from the paving-stones opposite the sand-lots. I had this West Coast view vividly before me only when I gazed through the thick cloud of dust raised by the stamping of the hoofs, and piercing, I had almost said, of the horns of the sand-lot orators into their famous plat of yellow, dusty earth. In California you can see China from the church steeples, but not from the sand-lots. It was my fortune to address a large audience in San Francisco, made up, as I was told, of the better elements in the city, and some missiles were thrown through the skylights as I defended, in California, what I understood to be the Eastern view of the Chinese question. But while a few roughs attempted to interrupt the meeting, the mass of the audience was unmistakably of Eastern opinions, and endorsed with emphasis the President's veto, and Senator Morton's views, and especially my criticisms of the sand-lots, and of the average tone of the San Francisco daily press on the Chinese question. I undertake to say here, face to face with an intelligent audience in Boston, what I said face to face with an intelligent audience in San Francisco, that, however politicians may declaim or the people may vote, the plans of Providence as to the regeneration of Asia are likely to be carried out, and that it greatly concerns America to keep step with Providence.

When Yung Wing was in Lima, South America, he was obliged to be witness to many indignities cast upon coolies. He visited the President of the State in which he was travelling, and made complaint. His friends from Connecticut, who were with him, thought that Yung Wing was putting his life in peril, and told him so. He replied, "Why should not a man put his life in peril? Perhaps the best use I can make of my life is to lay it down here in Lima. If I thought so, I would do it. I should not have the least delicacy about it at all." I commend to these Chinese students the imitation of the superb patriotism of Yung Wing. I hope they will have no delicacy in asserting the rights of the Chinese in America, when they return to China, and in protecting the dignity of the Chinese Empire against any American politicians who agree with the San Francisco sand-lots.

I would join the hands of the Chinese mandarin class with the hands of the Chinese working class, and link the whole front of Chinese thought and labour against any bargaining with the politicians who side with the sand-lots, even if these politicians be sometimes in high station, and standing on the pedestal of the United States Senate, say that Chinamen cannot be evangelized, and are of no service in California. The truth is that ninety thousand Chinamen are now employed on the West Coast, and their employers keep them because it is profitable to have them there.

The Chinese question is really, whether the monopoly of low-paid labour shall be given to the Irish and other foreign elements, or shall be divided with the Chinamen? If the Chinamen now in San Francisco were expelled, wages would go up again, not to the height at which they stood in the gold period, but far higher than they are now. At present they are conspicuously higher than they are in the East. There was a day in California when the average working man was paid ten dollars for ten hours of labour, and eggs cost twenty-five cents

### *LEIPSIC PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.*

apiece. The time has now come, when the Chinaman receives about what we pay white labourers in the East.

John Chinaman has not displaced anybody. He has filled up gaps. White men, let us suppose, abandon a mine when it will not pay three dollars a day to each labourer. The Chinaman is content with two dollars a day, and he works the mine. Has he displaced the miner who abandons the mine? He has taken his place, but he has only filled up a vacancy.

If a man wishes to start a woollen factory, and must pay three dollars a day for labour, he sees he cannot do it in San Francisco and compete with Lowell and Lawrence. In comes John Chinaman, and can be hired for a price at which it will pay to manufacture woollen goods on the Pacific slope. The Irishman, with the pick-axe and the hod, does part of the work in putting up the factory, and there is work made in various ways for all the higher grades of labour, by the coming in of labourers at prices that permit profit. The Pacific slope needs diversification of labour, and the Chinaman has helped supply this need. Wages will come to a level on the Pacific slope, and manufacturing will start up in California.

The fact that 90,000 Chinamen find constant employment on the Pacific coast, at a respectable rate of remuneration, is proof that they are needed there. A man who employs Chinamen is to be counted as in favour of Chinese immigration. If 140,000 votes should be cast against Chinese immigration in California, it would yet be true that the majority are really in favour of it, because more than 70,000 people in California employ Chinamen. The newspapers of San Francisco do not properly represent the feelings of the best classes of society there on the Chinese question.

When I stood for the first time on the shore of the Pacific at the Golden Gate, it was impossible for me not to bend down and write in the sand, "The regeneration of Asia, may God hasten it!" Here, to-day, on the shore of the Atlantic, I would write the same words, not on the sand merely, but, if possible, in the hearts of these representatives of China; and, deeper yet, in the life of any who are teachers of these young men, who are to be threads and needles for making the wardrobe of a new civilization for an empire containing a tenth of the population of the world, and which was old when Greece was young. Yet more deeply would I write the same words on the hearts of any timorous politicians, who believe that the electoral vote of California, and good cheer from the sand-lots, are worth more to our nation than harmony with Almighty God in His providential plan for the regeneration of Asia. I would, in short, write these words on the sand-lots themselves, and call on the American people to see that they are not erased.

### THE LECTURE.

Six renowned German names, to their own credit or discredit, can now be quoted in the list of believers in the reality of the alleged facts of the modern psychical or spiritual manifestations. They are Professors Zöllner, Fechner, and Scheibner, of Leipsic University; Professor Weber, of Göttingen University; Professor Fichte, of Stuttgart; and Professor Ulrici, of Halle University.

Zöllner was born in Berlin, in 1834, and is, therefore, yet a com-

## EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND

paratively young man. He is professor of physical astronomy at Leipsic University, perhaps the foremost educational institution of the world. It is doubted in Germany whether Berlin or Leipsic stands in the first rank; but of late years the palm has been given to Leipsic.

Fechner was born in Gross-Saarchen, in 1801, and is professor of physics. He is renowned for his publications on mental physiology, and as a most searching experimental investigator of Nature.

Scheibner was born in Gotha, in 1826, and is professor of mathematics.

Weber was born at Wittenberg, in 1804, and is professor of electricity and author of celebrated works on that topic.

Fichte was born at Jena, in 1797, and died at Stuttgart, in 1879. He was the son of the famous John Gottlieb Fichte, and was professor of philosophy at the University of Tübingen. He is the author of important philosophical works carrying out the thoughts of his father, and establishing what is known as the system of concrete theism. He was founder, and one of the editors, of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*.

Ulrici was born at Lusatia, in 1806, and is professor of philosophy and editor of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, published at Halle.

The celebrated experiments described by Zöllner in his "Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen,"\* published in 1878-9, were performed at Leipsic by Profs. Zöllner, Fechner, Scheibner, and Weber, in November and December, 1877.

Professors Wundt, Thiersch, and Ludwig, of the same university, saw only a portion of the experiments, and express themselves as not convinced of the objective reality of all the facts. Professor Wundt has published an article, which has been translated into English, in reply to Ulrici, and insists much upon the tricks of legerdemain.

The Court prestidigitator of Berlin, however, has given to the public an affidavit, in which he says that the explanation of Slade's experiments by legerdemain and the allied arts is wholly impossible. I think it important to read the text of this affidavit of the Court conjuror, for its author is a man of dignity of character and is regarded as one of the most skilful representatives of legerdemain in the world. He is not a spiritualist, and is far from believing that spirits were concerned in the famous experiments performed at Leipsic. His testimony is the reply of an expert to the positions taken by Professor Lankester and Dr. Donkin, in England.

Henry Slade, being then resident at Berlin, was visited by the

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\* By Staakmann, Leipsic.

### LEIPSIC PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.

Court Conjuror and Prestidigitator to the Emperor of Germany, Samuel Bellachini, No. 14 Grossbaron-strasse, who subsequently made affidavit before a public notary, Gustav Haagen, in the following terms :

Executed at Berlin, on the sixth of December, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven, and entered in the notary's register under the number four hundred and eighty-two for the year eighteen hundred and seventy-seven.

Signed and officially stamped.

GUSTAV HAAGEN, *Counsellor and Notary.*

I hereby declare it to be a rash action to give decisive judgment upon the objective medial performance of the American medium, Mr. Henry Slade, after only one sitting and the observations so made.

After I had, at the wish of several highly-esteemed gentlemen of rank and position, and also for my own interest, tested the physical mediumship of Mr. Slade in a series of sittings by full daylight, as well as in the evening, in his bedroom, I must, for the sake of truth, hereby certify that the phenomenal occurrences with Mr. Slade have been thoroughly examined by me, with the minutest observation and investigation of his surroundings, including the table, and that I have *not in the smallest instance* found anything to be produced by means of prestidigitative manifestations or by mechanical apparatus, and that any explanation of the experiments which took place, *under the circumstances and conditions then obtaining*, by any reference to prestidigitation, is *absolutely impossible*.

It must rest with such men of science as Crookes and Wallace in London ; Perty, in Berne ; Boutlerof, in St. Petersburg, to search for the explanation of this phenomenal power and to prove its reality. I declare, moreover, the published opinions of laymen as to the 'how' of this subject to be premature, and, according to *my* view and experience, false and one-sided. This, my declaration, is signed and executed before a notary and witnesses.

(Signed)

SAMUEL BELLACHINI.

Berlin, 6th December, 1877.

Henry Slade having proceeded to St. Petersburg, in order to fulfil his engagement with M. Aksakof and Prof. Boutlerof, and to present the phenomenon of Psychography to the scrutiny of a committee of scientific experts, has had a series of successful sittings, in the course of which writing has been obtained in the Russian language. At one recent sitting writing in six different languages was obtained on a single slate.

On Wednesday, Feb. 20th, accompanied by M. Aksakof and Prof. Boutlerof, Slade had a most successful sitting with the Grand Duke Constantine, who received them cordially, and himself obtained writing on a new slate, held by himself alone.\*

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\* See "Psychography by M.A., Oxon," London, 1878, p. 150.

## EXPERIMENTS OF GÖTTINGEN AND

Out of the mass of observation of the Leipsic and Göttingen professors, allow me to select five classes of phenomena.

### 1. *Experiments with a closed book-slate.*

The following incident occurred in the presence of Prof. Zöllner and Prof. W. Weber: "I pasted half a sheet of ordinary writing-paper on a rather large wooden board," says Prof. Zöllner, "and blackened the paper by holding it over a petroleum lamp, and then laid it under the table at which W. Weber, Slade, and I had taken our places. Suddenly the board under the table was violently shoved out about a yard, and when I lifted it up there was the impression of a naked left foot. I at once asked Slade to stand up and show me both his feet. He willingly agreed. After he had pulled his shoe off, his stocking was examined to see if there was any soot upon it; but nothing was found. He was then asked to have his foot measured, and the length of the impression was found to exceed that of his foot by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  centimetres." The Professor, anxious to find confirmation for his theory of the existence of four dimensional beings, asked Slade to try whether an impression could not be obtained inside a closed book-slate. A half-sheet of letter paper was pasted inside by Zöllner and blackened with the lamp, and here is his description of the result.

"I closed this slate, and remarked to Slade that, if my theory of the existence of intelligent four-dimensional beings in Nature were well founded, it would be easy for them to give the impression hitherto obtained on an open slate inside a closed one. Slade laughed, and was of opinion that this would be absolutely impossible. Even his 'spirits,' whom he asked, seemed very much perplexed about this proposition; but at last answered on a slate with the cautious, stereotyped reply: *We will try.* To my great surprise, Slade agreed that I should lay the book-slate (which since I had blackened the paper I had not once let go out of my hands) during the séance upon my knees, so that I could always see half of it. We had been sitting perhaps five minutes at the table, in the brightly-lighted room, our hands linked with those of Slade upon the table, in the usual manner, when I felt twice, at short intervals, that the slate upon my knees was pressed down without the slightest visible cause. Three knocks on the table announced that all was finished, and when I opened the slate I found inside on one side the print of a right, and on the other of a left foot, the latter the same as we had obtained the two previous evenings. My readers may judge for themselves how far it is for us, after such facts, to look upon Mr. Slade as a deceiver or a trickster. Slade's own astonishment at the success of the experiment was almost greater than mine." \*

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\* Zöllner, "Wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen," Vol. II. part i, p. 849.

LEIPSIC PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.

I now have the honour to exhibit to this audience a scientific representation of this foot (presenting a plate from Zöllner's work). There is the slate, there is the paper on the inside of it, there is the soot on the paper, there is the impression of the foot, and *that* was made on the inside of a book-slate, locked together and held on Professor Zöllner's knees during the experiment. How do you explain that? By shutting your eyes. Professor Hammond, of New York City, has written a book on Spiritualism and nervous derangement. He quotes the testimony of Lord Lindsay, of England, as to certain marvellous phenomena observed in full daylight. The first explanation which Professor Hammond gives is that possibly Lord Lindsay ate too much at dinner, or that "perhaps his cravat was too tight." It may be that when Professor Zöllner held this slate on his knee his cravat was too tight. I cannot say that it was not; and, if it was, who knows that what he seemed to observe was objectively real? The circulation of the blood in his brain may have been disturbed, and he may have been in a trance. This cravat philosophy, however, will hardly sustain examination by serious men.

The mechanical theory of matter is exploded if Zöllner's alleged facts can be proved to be real; but here are grave experts who unite in assuring the world that these events occurred under their own eyesight. Here is the Court Conjuror, who says he can do nothing of the kind. I hold in my hand a volume by Fichte, and he says, quoting these experiments and naming the professors who performed them, that he could himself, if he were authorized, give, in addition to these names, many others in Germany who by the experiments at Leipsic have been convinced of the reality of the facts and of their worthiness to be made the subject of scientific research.\*

Pardon me if I ask you once more to remember that I am not here to defend the theories of Spiritualists. Perhaps all that Professor Zöllner has observed can be accounted for by what Professor Crookes calls the psychic force. Here is a magnet. It attracts iron filings. I put between the magnet and the filings a sheet of paper, and I hold the magnet above the paper. The filings strike against the lower side. I move that magnet, so that it describes the lines representing the initials of a man's name. Do I not thus cause the iron filings to follow precisely similar lines on the opposite side of the paper? What if they were filings of black lead. Would they not write the initials? If a magnet can do that, and if, as Serjeant Cox and Professor Crookes assert, there is in the human organization a power by which physical objects can be moved without contact, who knows but that

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\* Fichte "Der Neuere Spiritualismus." Leipsic: Brockhaus. 1878. P. 104.

### *EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND*

the will of the psychic (I use that term in preference to medium), may control the action of the concealed pencil between the slates and produce writing? If you admit that this psychic force exists, there may be found in it an explanation for facts like these observed by Zöllner, without resort to the theory that there are spirits concerned in the phenomena. If the psychic force may be so managed by you as to cause a slate pencil to write, so by acts of will you may possibly produce such an impression of a foot as this engraving represents. I do not say that the impression was thus produced, but only that perhaps it may have been. Until the psychic force has been far more scientifically investigated than it has been as yet, I hold that we are far from having full proof that the psychic force cannot account for Psychography. Here are Zöllner's and Weber's facts, however, and in the present stage of the discussion the important thing is to look directly at observed phenomena.

A professor of Leipsic University buys a book-slate himself and ties it up, or locks it, or screws it together, first having cleaved it and carefully removed any chemical preparation on it. He does not allow it to go out of his hands during the experiment. It is watched by men of trained habits of observation, while writing appears on its interior surfaces. An elaborate scientific work, from the foremost university in the world, contains plates illustrating writing produced in this manner. Facts thus attested are likely to fix attention. All this has been done at Leipsic University. The condition of Germany is much like what that of New England would be if four of the most renowned professors of our Atlantic Coast—say three from Harvard and one from Yale—were to testify to the reality of facts like these, and then if two of the most trustworthy of our metaphysical philosophers should take up the facts and make them the basis of acute discussion. If books should come out from our stateliest houses, with plates describing these occurrences, a storm would be raised in the minds of educated youth. If another professor should reply to the professors who assert the objective reality of the facts, the storm would only be heightened; but if the reply should be weak, as it seems to be conceded that the reply of Wundt to Ulrici is, the storm would not be very likely to go down.

Very often the subject-matter of the writing found on the slates, is beyond the knowledge of the psychic. Greek has been written on slates, and found to be accurate, when the psychic knew nothing of the language. It is thought by Zöllner and his associates to be demonstrably impossible to produce these results by fraud.

Possibly some of you were startled when I insisted so much on

## LEIPSIK PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.

Crookes's experiments as to a psychic force ; but you now see that, if you grant me the use of his theory, many of these phenomena can be explained without the supposition that there are spirits behind the phenomena.

Fichte was induced to attend to psychical facts by the Psychography of Baron Guldenstubbé, an honourable and learned man, who had a marvellous faculty of producing writing on untouched surfaces. In many churches and ancient ruins of Europe, and in the Louvre and Père la Chaise, and in Westminster Abbey and the British Museum, this Baron produced such writing, and there are hundreds of his manuscripts thus written now in existence.\* Scores of men in high official position witnessed the production of this writing. He obtained writings without putting any pencil or any fragment of writing substance into the closed box where he put his paper. Perhaps Baron Guldenstubbé could produce any writing which he willed to come into existence on his manuscript. When I study his account of his own experiments, I think Prof. Crookes's hint concerning the psychic force goes very far toward unlocking the mystery of the phenomena.

### II. *Experiments with Knots in Endless Threads and Straps.*

The two ends of a piece of pack-thread were sealed together by Professor Zöllner. The whole thread was closely watched. The experiment occurred in a room with which the psychic was not familiar. The ends of the thread next to the seal were held beneath Zöllner's thumbs, and the curve of it hung down into his lap. Here is the Professor's own engraved illustration of the method in which this thread was arranged (exhibiting it). In an endless cord or thread no knot can be tied. While that sealed pack-thread hung, without a knot, in the lap of Professor Zöllner, and when the psychic was out of reach of the thread entirely, four knots were tied in it.

If this single circumstance, attested by the Leipsic professors, is a fact, it blows to the four moons of Jupiter the whole materialistic mechanical theory of matter. The materialism of ages is answered by a single fact like this. But here we have these six men agreeing that these Leipsic assertions are worthy of credence. Zöllner threatens a lawsuit against Wundt for accusations of trickery against our American Dr. Slade.

In spite of all defences of this man, I am, however, very suspicious of trickery in Slade. Professor Crookes acknowledges that he has sometimes been deceived by skilful legerdemain. Lately, in London, there occurred what the *Times* calls the capture of a spirit. Who.

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\* See Guldenstubbé, "La Realité des Esprits."



### EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND

was the spirit? Why, a lady who had once been a medium in the employ of Professor Crookes! She was found out in one of the coarsest kinds of impersonation, and it is fair to say that one of Professor Crookes's best authorities has been thus broken down entirely. It is very well understood, however, by those who read the spiritualistic newspapers, that the more sensible of them (and the more sensible are very few in number) are objecting more and more to experiments in dark closets or in cabinets, as affording opportunity for trickery. Some of the most scathing remarks against trickery are made by the spiritualistic writers themselves. At the same time, I must say, with equal frankness, that there are no social errors more poisonous than some which have been taught by spiritualistic tricksters, unworthy of any place except in jail.

Zöllner insists that the tying of knots in an endless cord prove the existence of a fourth dimension of space. Explanation of the phenomena in our three dimensions there cannot be, and so he is forced to adopt Kant's idea that there is a fourth dimension of space.

#### III. *Experiments concerning the Disappearance and Re-appearance of Matter.*

I translate to you exactly, in this and subsequent passages, the language of Zöllner, and I am not aware that it has been given to the public before in English:—

"At about half-past eleven o'clock, in bright sunlight, I became, wholly without expectation or preparation, a witness of a very extraordinary phenomenon. I had, as usual, taken my place with Slade at a card-table. Opposite me and near the card-table, stood a small round stand. Something like a minute may have passed after Slade and I had seated ourselves and placed our hands, one above the other, together, when the round stand began slowly to sway to and fro. We both saw it clearly. The motions were soon more extensive, and, meanwhile, the whole stand drew near to the card-table and placed itself under the latter, with its three feet turned toward me. I, and as it seemed also Mr. Slade, did not know in what way the phenomena were to be further developed. For perhaps a minute nothing at all happened. Slade was about to use his slate and pencil, to ask the spirits whether we were to expect anything, when I resolved to take a nearer view of the round stand which was lying, as I thought, under the card-table. To my great amazement, and Slade's also, we found the space under the card-table perfectly empty. Nowhere in the rest of the chamber could we find the stand, which a minute previously had been before our eyes. After five or six minutes spent in breathless waiting for the re-appearance of the stand, Slade claimed that he saw appearances of lights, of which, I, as usual, could see nothing. Looking, with more and more anxiety and astonishment,

#### LEIPSIC PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.

in different directions in the air above me, Slade asked me if I did not see the appearance of large lights, and, while I answered the question with a decided negative, I turned my head in the direction of the ceiling of the chamber, and suddenly saw, at a height of about five feet, the lost table, with the legs directed upward into the air, float downward rapidly upon the top of the card-table." \*

Zöllner undertakes to face all Germany with experiments like these. He affirms that Weber, Fechner, and Scheibner agree with him, and Leipsic University keeps him in his place.

#### IV. *Experiments concerning the Power of Matter to pass through Matter.*

Two conch-shells lay on the table, the smaller covered by the larger.

"As Slade was holding a slate in the usual manner under the edge of the table, to receive writing," says Professor Zöllner, "something suddenly struck on the slate with a clattering sound, as if some heavy body had fallen upon it. When immediately thereafter the slate was taken out for examination, the smaller conch-shell lay on it. Since the two shells had lain before me almost exactly in the middle of the table, untouched and constantly watched, here was, therefore, the often observed phenomenon of the penetration of matter presented in a surprising and wholly unexpected physical manner. Immediately after Slade drew the slate from under the table, with the smaller shell on it, I seized the shell, in order to ascertain whether it had suffered any change. I came very near letting it fall, so very hot had it become. I gave it immediately into the hand of a friend, and he found it of a remarkably high temperature." †

In other portions of the Leipsic experiments coin were taken out of a locked box and put into it, while the key was in the possession of the Professor. I have in my hand at this moment a letter from a gentleman of excellent position in this city, who informs me that he and thirteen others have signed their names to a document affirming that flowers were put into a locked wooden box, while the key was retained by the experimenters. Under the shadow of Zöllner's testimony, coincident observations may be quoted, even if the latter were not made by experts.

#### V. *Experiments concerning the Appearance of Tangible Hands.*

In describing the German researches, I have emphasized only the facts on which Ulrici places stress, and have, therefore, given you a glimpse not only of Zöllner's chief assertions, but of those which Ulrici and Fichte have discussed and consider the most suggestive.

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\* "Zöllner," Vol. II., Part ii., p., 917. † Zöllner, Vol. II., Part ii., p. 926.

#### EXPERIMENTS OF GOTTINGEN AND

"Almost regularly in all our sittings," says Professor Zöllner, "while Slade's hands were visibly laid on the table and his feet confined, we felt under the table the touch of hands. I wished, therefore, to institute an experiment by which yet more convincing proof of the existence of these hands could be obtained. I proposed to Mr. Slade that he should place under the table a shallow porcelain vessel, filled to the brim with white flour, and that he should request the spirits before they touched us to dip their hands in this flour. In this way the visible traces of the touch would show themselves on our clothing, and after the touch. At the same time, we could look on the hands and feet of Slade for any remnants of flour adhering to them. Slade expressed himself as ready to undertake the experiment under these conditions. I brought in a large porcelain bowl, filled it to the brim with flour, and placed it under the table. As to the outcome of this research, we did not make ourselves anxious, but for more than five minutes carried on magnetic experiments, while Slade's hands were always visible before us on the table. I felt, suddenly, my right knee under the table vigorously clasped and pushed downwards for about a second by a large hand. At the same moment, as I stated this to those who were present, and was about to rise, the bowl of flour was pushed, without visible touch, some four feet from its place under the table. On my pantaloons I had the impression in flour of a large, powerful hand, and on the surface of the meal in the bowl were printed the palm and forefingers, with all the fine details of the skin. A pains-taking examination of Slade's hands and feet showed not the slightest trace of flour. The comparison of his own hand with the impression in the flour proved that the latter was considerably the larger." \*

Zöllner, Weber, Scheibner, and Fechner affirm that they obtained music from untouched key-boards, and repeated successfully most of Crookes's experiments.

I am no partisan for or against any yet unrisen star beneath the horizon of science. If the Biblical view of spirits, good and bad, could by modern evidence be proved to be true, I should be only the firmer believer in the Bible, with its whole supernatural history. If spirits that "peep and mutter," to use the Scriptural phraseology, are abroad in the world, and if there be need of warning modern generations, as the ancient ones were warned, not to have commerce with demoniacal powers, I wish to listen to that warning made of old a part of Divine Revelation. I am not in danger of supposing that these atrocious, poisonous whisperings, which mislead men and women only too often into erratic opinions and conduct, are from on high. Whenever good angels appear in the Biblical history, they flame like the sun, or otherwise exhibit *openly* overawing powers. The angel

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\* Zöllner, Vol. II., Part i., p. 310.

*LEIPSIK PROFESSORS ON SPIRITUALISM.*

that stood at the mouth of the sepulchre could not be looked at by the soldiers. They were as dead men in his presence. Always the appearance of good spirits puts into awe the human observer. I do not read accounts of such appearances in our modern circles. But, if you were to prove to me that good spirits can speak to us, as well as evil, I should yet say that transcendently greater proof of the supernatural origin of the Biblical revelation has been given than of any or all other alleged supernatural communications; and that, therefore, the inferior manifestations must be subject to the supreme ones. While they are thus subject, I do not care what you prove concerning them. I do not think you have scientifically proved even that evil spirits can communicate with men. I do not think you have proved that good spirits can communicate. You are far from proving that any of these communications are a trustworthy source of knowledge of any kind, except that materialism is not true. Beyond these positions I do not need to go, in order to show you that I am ready to receive scientific evidence from any quarter. Prove to yourselves, if you can, that Archbishop Whately was right\* when he asserted that the Biblical truths concerning good and evil angels are truths for all time. I believe that already; but, if you were to fortify this belief by modern instances, I should yet stand in Archbishop Whately's position, and make the teaching of modern spirits, especially of such as "peep and mutter," subject to the angelic spirits whose effulgence has made mortals as dead men, and to those communications which, by being absorbed into the veins of the ages, have been proved to give full health to human civilization. As the viper beneath the heel is subject to man, so would I have the witchcraft which peeps and mutters subject to Him who spake as never man spake. The more you prove the better. I think you have proved nothing of importance, except that there is a psychic force, and that the place for materialism is in fragments on the horns of Jupiter's moons,

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\* See his treatise on "Scriptural Revelations concerning Good and Evil Angels."

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

### THE PRELUDE.—SHALL THE CIVIL DAMAGE LAW BE REPEALED?

*[The defence of the Civil Damage Law, and especially the reference to the temperance principles of General Grant and Mrs. President Hayes, in contrast with the example of certain city clubs, was well received by the crowded audience, as was also the lecture.]*

EIGHTEEN commonwealths in the American Union now stand in a majestic circle, with their hands locked together in support of the Civil Damage Temperance Law, for the protection of the widow and the orphan against the fleecers of the poor. While seventeen states retain this righteous enactment, shall Massachusetts repeal it? Who is striving to break the circle? We have not had a year's experience of this law in Massachusetts, but it appears to have been found out in this commonwealth already, what has never been ascertained in these sister commonwealths, that the law has in its provisions going beyond the province of legislation. It has been discovered, not in rural Massachusetts, but in Boston, the centre of the whiskey-ring of New England, that this law pinches; and the first reason I have for supporting the law is that it does pinch the whiskey-ring. Show me what the whiskey-rings of our great cities do not want, and I will show you what the best portion of the American population does want, and the cities also, so far as they are not under the sway of luxury and avarice, and timorousness and social fashion, and a low-toned club life.

Why should the Civil Damage Law not be repealed?

1. It has been adopted in nineteen states, and the experience of a quarter of a century under the law shows that it works well.

The Civil Damage Bill was first proposed in Massachusetts, before a convention of Congregational ministers, by Dr. Hewitt, of Connecticut. A distinct proposal that such a law should be passed was laid on the table in the Massachusetts General Court in 1847. Indiana, however, adopted the law in 1853, and Ohio in 1854. The law has been placed on the statute-books of nineteen states, and is now on those of eighteen. These are Arkansas, Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, Massachusetts, Maine, Minnesota, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin, and West Virginia. In all but three of these states—Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont—the Civil Damage provisions are attached to licence laws. In ten of the states the responsibility is the same whether the sales are legal or illegal. Only five of the states require notice to be given to the dealer not to sell in order to maintain suits, and in Ohio the notice may be given to the town or city clerk. In Wisconsin the local authorities may forbid sales to minors and drunkards. In Nebraska

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

the liquor-dealer is responsible to the cities and towns for the pauperism caused by drink.\*

2. The Massachusetts law is less severe than are the laws maintained for years in New York and many Western states.

The Massachusetts law relieves from liability all landlords whose premises were already leased at the time of the passage of the law, a provision not contained in any other Civil Damage Law ever passed. Will you notice, also, that the New York Law—and that of most of the Western states as well—allows licences to be granted without the consent of the owner of the real estate? The Massachusetts law forbids this, and, in so doing, throws an important protection around the landlord. If I own a building on Manhattan Island, and rent it to a liquor-seller, and he wants a licence, he applies for it to the proper authorities, and never comes near me, to get my permission. But if on the soil of Boston I own a building, and allow a liquor-seller to rent it, he cannot have a licence from the legal authorities without my written consent. The landlord in Massachusetts has also a right of action against his tenant, and can recover from him all money paid by the landlord on account of any liability incurred under this law. At first glance, you may think that the law is somewhat severe upon landlords; but at a second glance you will find that the landlord is entitled to recover all money paid by him on account of damage caused by his tenant, and can recover this, provided the latter has anything to pay. Landlords will not lose a penny by prosecutions under the Massachusetts law unless they rent their premises to tenants who are insolvent. The New York and the Western laws allow a tenant who has sold liquor, which has caused injuries, to escape entirely; while the landlord, who may be compelled to pay the damages, has no claim upon his tenant, no matter how wealthy the latter may be.

The New York law and all the Western laws provide that "exemplary damages" may be recovered. In the Massachusetts law this provision is omitted. The heaviest verdicts obtained in the West have been under this provision. Its omission here is in accordance with the general policy of the state to grant only "actual damages" in cases of violations of individual rights.

3. Legal analogy justifies the Civil Damage Law.

Suppose that I am riding to Cambridge, and drop through the bridge and lose my life, or simply break a limb. Damages can be recovered against the city government, if my dropping through is the result of the carelessness of the municipal authorities in not keeping the bridge in order. But suppose that, on the way to the same place, I stop at a corner grocery, or some gilded hotel grog-shop, and become so intoxicated that I drop through the bridge or break a limb at the very spot where I had previously sustained injury. In the latter case I have no redress. The city licensed the groggery: the city has control of the bridge. You do not complain when the city is made responsible for the damages caused by its carelessness, in the one case. Why should you complain when the rum-seller and the owner of the saloon are made responsible, in the other? You say I might keep out of danger in the saloon; so I might keep out of danger on the bridge. If I drop through a hole in the bridge in Boston by daylight, and am so injured as to be prevented from physical labour, my family can recover damages; but if, at midnight, I, a tempted man, inheriting, it may be, bad blood from intemperate ancestors, fall into some moral cavity in the slums of your cities, and then, going out intoxicated, am run over by an omnibus and

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\* See *Boston Herald*, September 1st, 1879.

## *AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

injured so that I cannot labour physically, my family has no redress. For one, I affirm that in such inequalities all legal analogy is forgotten. Although our jurisprudence aims to be just in most cases where individual rights are violated, yet in this case it is very clearly unjust, because it lacks all analogy with its own proceedings in other cases.

In law, a man in his senses is supposed to intend the probable consequences of his own acts. He is held responsible accordingly. The probable consequences of his acts are known to the rum-seller when he sells to the minor, the weak man in middle life or age, or to the drunkard. Let the law treat the rum-seller and his landlord as it treats other depredators on society. Let it hold them, as men in their senses, responsible for the probable consequences of their own acts.

If a sane man should carelessly throw a firebrand into a powder magazine, he would be liable to be prosecuted for the murder of those who lose their lives by the explosion. If a confectioner, for the sake of gain, should sell poisoned candy to children, although he were to warn them against the use of it, you would very soon find the man brought to a pause in his trade by the law. But if he deals out poisonous intoxicating liquors to thoughtless youth, though well knowing that the result will be the loss of property, reputation, health, and perhaps of life, the suffering parent or wife can neither chastise the rum-seller for the outrage nor prevent its repetition.

Does Massachusetts want the law repealed which remedies all this, when seventeen other states keep the enactment on their statute books? Is Massachusetts willing to fall behind Ohio and Indiana, New York, and even Arkansas?

The revenue laws of the United States confiscated property used by a lessee for rum-selling, although the owner of the property knew nothing about it. The Supreme Court recently rendered a decision sustaining the action, and holding that the "legal conclusion must be, that the unlawful acts of the distiller bind the owner of the property in respect to the management of the same, as much as though they were committed by the owner himself." Only last October a decision was given by the Supreme Court of the United States affirming the validity of prohibition title-deeds in the case of Cowell against the Colorado Springs Company. You have, therefore, the highest judicial authority in the land affirming that it is perfectly legal for a man to sell property with the proviso that it shall never be used for the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors.

4. Decisions of the supreme courts of most of the states having the Civil Damage Law on their statute books have been obtained, and in every case they have declared the law constitutional.

Wealthy landlords tell us, in the green-room in the Massachusetts State House, that the Civil Damage Law goes beyond the sphere which the constitution opens to legislators. We are assured that Massachusetts has forgotten herself entirely. But the supreme courts of a dozen states have affirmed the constitutionality of Civil Damage Laws stricter than ours. Twelve thousand dollars has been awarded in one case in Illinois for the loss sustained by a wife through her husband's falling into habits of intemperance, discontinuing his business, and wasting his means.

One drunken man fell from a waggon, and was hurt so as to cause a costly sickness and a permanent disability. Another was drawn into a fight with pot companions, and killed. Another, too intoxicated to walk, was sent home in a waggon, and a barrel in the waggon rolled upon and crushed him. Another, helplessly staggering past a railway crossing, was run over by the train. Another, roaming along the streets of the town, fell into an open cellar, and was never

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

able to work after. Another, growing quarrelsome in drink, insulted a stranger, who retaliated with a stab, of which he died. Another, shot in a drunken quarrel, died from the effects of an amputation.\*

Cases like these have been brought under the Civil Damage Law into the courts, and heavy damages given against the landlords and the rum-sellers.

5. The law is especially needed to protect widows and minors, who have no votes, against the rapacity of the whiskey-ring.

You know I am not a woman suffragist. Nevertheless, I am in favour of trying the experiment of allowing woman the privilege to express her opinion in cases of local option on temperance laws. You have not given her that privilege in this state yet. But, while she stands outside of all other means of protection, why will you take out of her hands this Civil Damage Law, one of the means by which woman has protected herself most effectually in the Western states, and in the great commonwealth of New York, in the last twenty-five years?

6. The Civil Damage Law unites the friends of temperance as no single temperance law of equal severity has ever done.

7. Great natural justice supports the central proposition of the law that every civil offender should pay for the damage he does.

How may the objections to the Civil Damage Law be answered?

1. It is objected that the landlord is not responsible for the sales of his tenant.

The reply is that the tenant, according to the Massachusetts law, cannot be licensed unless the landlord consents. The latter, according to legal analogy, is an accessory to the tenant's crime.

2. It is objected that landlords may find their names in the newspapers, and so lose rank in good society, if they are sued under the Civil Damage Law.

The reply is that this social constraint on wrong-doing is one of the best effects of the law.

Very subtle is the operation of the Civil Damage Law upon the parlour. A wealthy landlord is liable any morning to find his name in the newspapers if he permits a tenant to sell intoxicating beverages illegally. The parlour does not regard the renting of buildings for rum-selling as altogether respectable. You cannot, however, easily discipline a rich man in a Church for this irregularity, unless the Church be organized like the First Congregational Church of Cleveland, Ohio, of which no one can become a member if he uses, or furnishes to others, intoxicating beverages. You are christening a new saint in Boston, who has no such rules. A New England St. Botolph comes to you with a whiskey-bottle in one hand, and a New Testament in the other. There was lately published in a newspaper in this city,† a painstaking notice that the new St. Botolph Club would furnish "wines, liquors, and cigars," to its members. That announcement was authorized by the signatures of men whom we all revere for their general ability and character. I do not understand how a minister can sign such a statement as that. I have heard of a young man coming with that document, which I now hold in my hand, into a boarding-house and reading it aloud to the company, and saying: "These ministers do not believe in total abstinence. They have given me permission to use wines, liquors, and cigars, for here they announce over their own names that 'wines, liquors, and cigars, and whatever it is customary to eat and drink in social clubs, without resorting to the dining-room, will be supplied.'" This announcement contains the names of many ministers.

\* *New York Tribune*, March 12th, 1879.  
January 4th, 1880.

† See the *Boston Herald*, Sunday,



## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

John Cotton has a memorial tablet in the Chapel of St. Botolph's in the English Boston on the British shore; but, if this official notice, signed by New England ministers, were nailed to that tablet, the Puritan, in view of modern light, might be expected to turn in his grave. I ask these representatives of the sacred profession whether they are quite sure that they are not increasing the respectability of fashionable drinking in this city. They think it an impertinence that I refer to this topic at all. I think it an impertinence that they flaunt their public announcement in the face of Boston and New England. I think it an impertinence that they flaunt this announcement in the face of their own churches and of ninety-nine out of a hundred of the ministerial profession. I am not assailing here the ministry, nor any individuals in it, for I have a reverence for all these men. I think they are misled. I fear that they are in that worst of all bondages, the soft apologetic submission of the pulpit to wealth, fashion, and luxury. If there is anything needed in a great city in modern times, it is a keen-edged conscience in the representatives of God's house when they face trade, fashion, and corrupt politics; when, anywhere, by night or day, they are called upon to exercise their functions before a haughty, luxurious public, or in private to keep their skirts clean from whatever can add to the temptations of young men. It is easy to be the apostle of wine-drinking, and slight dabbling in stronger liquors; but it is not easy for the Church, with an opinion of its own, to be quiet under such impertinence; and I resent, with the whole indignation of the temperance history of Massachusetts, the attempt of any Boston club, high or low, to set before us a justification of habits no young man can fall into without making parents' hearts bleed, that no one can drop into and remain a member of good standing in any church, and that no young man can fail to be tempted into if those who call themselves the higher circles in society set a glittering and guilty example to lead him on.

Impertinent! What would the President's wife say after excluding even wine from the tables of the foreign ministers, to find herself, at some ladies' reception, a guest anywhere in an establishment providing wines and liquors, and publishing in the Sunday newspapers its purpose to do so, before the eyes of the most civilized portion of the United States? Fashion has gone against all that in Washington. I sat, not many hours ago, with a gentleman who came from a long evening with the President and Mrs. Hayes; and I heard the story—the brave, heroic story—of the triumph of this majestic woman in her temperance principles in the White House. They were told—the President and his wife—that foreign ambassadors would turn a cold shoulder upon their receptions if wine was not furnished. They were told that the action of the President's wife would be construed as an insult to the foreign ambassadors. They were told that Washington society, gathered from all parts of the Union, would never submit to the carrying out of this fanatical Ohio idea. The strong, devout woman, sitting at the side of the Chief Magistrate of the United States, kept on her course. She said to the Secretary of State: "So far as you have power, you can do as you please; so far as I have power, there shall no temptation be put before any guest of mine even by the use of wine." An impertinence that would be thought, I suppose, by the average barbaric element in the club-life of cities. I regard the action of the President's wife as a key-note of fashion in the higher circles of the country. I regard the action of one hundred Amherst graduates, who, at an hotel in this city, sat down to dinner and turned all their wine-glasses upside down, as a key-note. I regard that legislature, which only a few years ago sat on yonder hill, and had in it only six members who furnished wine at public entertainments, as

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

a key-note of fashion. I regard, moreover, that great soldier, who has made the round promenade of the world, and under all kinds of temptation now turns his wine-glass upside down, as a key-note of fashion far more than any gilded whiskey saint, with a liquor-flask in one pocket and the New Testament in another, baptized though he be by one in a hundred of an amazed and indignant Boston ministry.

3. It is objected that the law causes the landlord a loss of rents, and lessens the value of real estate.

The reply is that what is lost in rents in city corner-lots leased to the rum-sellers, is in practice found to be more than made up by the improved condition of poor tenants, and their less frequent failure to pay any rent at all. The idea that prohibiting dram-selling would prove detrimental to the real estate interest, as a whole, is absurd. No doubt some will lose temporarily; but everybody knows that three-quarters of the losses come from the failure of the tenants to pay their rent, and that failure results from the drinking habits of the tenants.

4. It is objected that the law is not executed, and should, therefore, be repealed.

The reply is that in multitudes of cases the law has been executed, and has behind it a larger popular support than any temperance law, equally offensive to the whiskey-ring, ever had. The ten commandments are not executed; but it does not follow that, therefore, they should be repealed. The opposition to the law comes chiefly from the whiskey-ring and its allies.

Personally, I am a friend of a judicious prohibitory law; but if I cannot get that, I will stand by a licence law with civil damage teeth in it. The effort now should be, I think, to bring the middle class of temperance men into harmony with the upper class. There are voters enough in society, who are in favour of a moderately thorough temperance law, to keep such an enactment on the statute-books, if only you will unite the middle-class of temperance men with those who want an extremely severe temperance law.

5. It is objected that the Civil Damage Law lessens the responsibility of rum-selling, and drives the trade into the hands of low and lawless people.

The reply is that this is one of the intended effects of the law, and is a useful result. As one of the brave ministers of this city said, in the green-room under yonder gilded dome, not long ago: "When evil spirits are driven out of men into swine, they are then all the more easily driven into the sea."

## THE LECTURE.

AMERICAN investigations of Spiritualism began with the Salem witchcraft tragedy, twelve years less than two hundred years ago. Giles Corey, you remember, was pressed to death in Salem while protesting his innocence of witchcraft; and as his life, which had seen more than eighty years, was ebbing, he cried out "More weight! more weight!" and his protruding tongue was thrust back into his mouth by the cane of a bystander. George Burroughs stood on his gallows-stair, on the hill at Salem, protesting his innocence and addressing the people on religious themes, and closed his life with the

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

Lord's Prayer, repeated without an error, an exploit which, according to the theory of the time, no one guilty of witchcraft could perform. As soon as Burroughs had been executed, Cotton Mather, mounted on a horse on Gallows Hill, addressed the people, saying that the devil was often transformed into an angel of light. When Burroughs was cut down, he was dragged by a halter to a grave or hole between the rocks, about two feet deep. His shirt was pulled off. An old pair of trowsers of one who had been executed were put on him. He was so piled in with two other corpses that his chin and one of his hands were left uncovered.\* The finger of that hand history will see protruding from Gallows Hill, and pointing out the shame of the witchcraft tragedy, to the end of time. Salem hung twenty persons for witchcraft in 1692. America is horrified to this day as it looks back at the pointing finger of George Burroughs, and into the eyes of Giles Corey, and of the reputable men and women and the innocent children who suffered in that terrific persecution. Remember, however, that Geneva burned five hundred people in four months, in 1516, for the same crime of witchcraft. The district of Como burned a thousand in 1524. In 1589 the "*Malleus Maleficarum*," the "*Witch Hammer*," a treatise on witchcraft, was placed in the hands of the Pope; and it was swung for a century with terrific slaughter in France, Italy, and Germany. James VI. and Judge Matthew Hale used this hammer. During the Long Parliament three thousand persons were put to death for sorcery.

No community has ever repented of its proceedings against witchcraft more thoroughly than has Massachusetts. Doubtless, if spirits who have passed from earth are present in this historic temple to-day, one of them, the soul of a Massachusetts judge, has not forgotten, even in his blessed estate, the pain he expressed in his life by making a public confession, in a church on this spot, of his criminality in the witchcraft persecutions. Sewall kept, all his life, a day of fasting and prayer, as a sign of his penitence for what he did in the Salem tragedy. Looking back, therefore, across the short distance of two hundred years, I beg you to see not only the crime of one county in Massachusetts, but the penitence of Massachusetts, of New England, and of America as a whole, for that crime. Side by side with George Burroughs and Giles Corey, and their companions, in the morning of New England:

"Stately and slow, with thoughtful air,  
Walks the judge of the great assize,  
Samuel Sewall, the good and wise.

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\* Upham, "*Salem Witchcraft*," Vol. II. p. 301.

*AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

Touching and sad a tale is told,  
Like a penitent hymn of the Psalmist old,  
Of the fast which the good man life-long kept,  
With a haunting sorrow that never slept,  
As the circling years brought round the time  
Of an error that left the sting of crime ;  
When he sat on the bench of the witchcraft courts,  
With the laws of Moses and Hale's reports,  
And spake in the name of both the word  
That gave the witch's neck to the cord,  
And piled the oaken planks that pressed  
The feeble life from the warlock's breast.  
'Who doth such wrong,' he was wont to say,  
In his own quaint picture-loving way,  
'Flings up to Heaven a hand-grenade,  
Which God shall cast down upon his head.'  
Praise and thanks for an honest man,  
Glory to God for the Puritan !"

—WHITTIER, "The Prophecy of Samuel Sewall."

The burning of the hand-grenade of Salem witchcraft has made the American brain impervious to all modern evidence of the supernatural. The same spot has been cauterized by exposures of Spiritualism, again and again, on our own soil, and so has become doubly impervious.

1. The most important exposure of Spiritualism in this country is to be found in the confessions of the accusers of witches in 1692.

Ann Putnam, one of the three wild girls who began the mischief, made an elaborate confession, after her shame and remorse had been contending with each other for thirteen years. The record of her recantation can still be seen in a Danvers church. History has fastened attention not only on the confessions, but on the subsequent lives of the accusers of witches. As a rule, the informers either confessed their falsehood, or else turned out to be persons of completely worthless character. Calef says some of them were "as vile varlets as not only were known before, but have been further apparent since by their manifest lives." Governor Hutchinson\* says that "some of them proved profligate persons, abandoned to all vice ; and others passed their days in obscurity and contempt." In 1710 the General Court of Massachusetts annulled the convictions and attainders and made grants to the heirs of the sufferers in the Salem Witchcraft Tragedy, in acknowledgment of their pecuniary losses.†

2. Falling upon nearly the same spot of the New England brain

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\* "History," 11.62.      † See Palfrey's "History of New England," Vol. IV. p. 117, and Upham's "Salem Witchcraft," Vol. II. pp. 509-513.

*AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

which remorse for the Salem Witchcraft Tragedy had cauterized, there dropped next a hand-grenade, in the summer months of 1857, from the heights of the Agassiz Investigation Committee. The text of the document containing this emphatic decision shows that the results reached were purely negative.

"The committee award that Dr. Gardner, having failed to produce before them an agent or medium who 'communicated a word imparted to the spirits in an adjoining room,' 'who read a word in English written inside a book or a folded sheet of paper,' who answered any question 'which the superior intelligences must be able to answer,' 'who tilted a piano without touching it or caused a chair to move a foot'; and, having failed to exhibit to the committee any phenomenon which, under the wildest latitude of interpretation, could be regarded as equivalent to either of these proposed tests, or any phenomenon which required for its production or in any manner indicated a force which could technically be denominated spiritual, or which was hitherto unknown to science, or a phenomenon of which the cause was not palpable to the committee, is, therefore, not entitled to claim from the *Boston Courier* the proposed premium of five hundred dollars.

"It is the opinion of the committee, derived from observation, that any connection with spiritualistic circles, so-called, corrupts the morals and degrades the intellect. They, therefore, deem it their solemn duty to warn the community against this contaminating influence, which surely tends to lessen the truth of man and the purity of woman.

"The committee will publish a report of their proceedings, together with the results of additional investigations and other evidence independent of the special case submitted to them, but bearing upon the subject of this stupendous delusion.

"BENJAMIN PIERCE, Chairman,  
Ls. AGASSIZ,  
B. A. GOULD, JR.,  
E. N. HORSFORD.

"Cambridge, June 29th, 1857."

Luther V. Bell, superintendent of the McLean Asylum, and compeer of either of the revered professors named here, in his knowledge of nervous diseases, affirmed, in 1857, that the committee did not explain the lowest and simplest phenomena—namely, the raps. Of course, I remember what has been said about these being produced by the toes or the bones of the knees. There are many other attempted explanations; but, now that twenty-three years have passed, I doubt whether I could find in this audience a hundred people who think that the central phenomena of Spiritualism really received a scientific explanation in the Agassiz investigation. That

*AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

great committee has power to-day, by its reputation, rather than by what it promised to give the public, and never did—a detailed explanation of the phenomena alleged to occur.

3. Soon after attention had been called, in 1847, to rappings in the presence of Miss Fox, she lost the confidence of the American public, although she has since gained that of a portion of British opinion. Miss Culver, a relative of Miss Fox, asserts that the latter taught her how to produce these phenomena. There is what is almost equivalent to a legal affidavit—a formal document, signed by Mrs. Culver and attested by a physician and a minister, to the effect that Miss Fox, at the beginning of her career, was certainly a trickster. Several professors of eminence explained her raps before audiences by a peculiar use of the toes and the bones of the knees.\*

4. Dr. Grimes, of Chicago, who for many years has lectured with effect in opposition to Spiritualism, gives a suggestive account of the origin of the peculiar experiences of A. J. Davis, of Poughkeepsie. Professor Grimes gave a long course of lectures at Poughkeepsie, on the Hudson. The Professor magnetized a young man, and then caused him to believe that he was Henry Clay and Webster. The young man was a college graduate, and declaimed beautifully in language which resembled Webster's. This experimenter came to Professor Grimes's office, and there the Professor put him into what is called the "magnetic state," and opened before him a volume describing the brain. The Professor explained the details of anatomical structure. The young man, in his peculiar condition, memorized these details, and was then told by the Professor that he was to forget where he had learned them, and to imagine that Spurzheim, the phrenologist, had appeared to him and taught him those things. Dr. Carpenter admits, and so does Dr. George M. Beard, of New York City, that the mesmerized subject very often when in the healthy state cannot remember his experiences in the mesmerized state. When the young man came before Professor Grimes's audience, in the evening, he described all the details of the anatomical structure of the brain. A classmate, a friend of the young man, was in the gathering, and assured the people that the subject had never studied anatomy. The query was at once raised where he had gained his anatomical knowledge. The lecturer told the audience to ask the mesmerized young man himself. He replied that Spurzheim appeared to him and explained the structure of the brain. The young man adhered to that conviction in his trance

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\* See the deposition of Mrs. Norman Culver, cited in Grimes's "Mysteries of the Head and Heart," Chicago, 1875, p. 321.

### *AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

state, and could not be convinced of the opposite ; and the community was, of course, startled. On the next evening, Professor Grimes came before the audience and explained the case fully, and showed that, under the laws of trance, after he had communicated these facts to him, he would believe them. Professor Grimes claims that, after this set of lectures, after this public experience in Poughkeepsie, and after these laws of trance had been exp'rienced there, a certain clique developed Andrew Jackson Davis in the same way, and that he has not been evolved out of his trance, or, at least, not out of his confidence in his visions to this hour.

5. Robert Dale Owen confessed himself the dupe of the Holmes family, and of a female trickster, called Katie King, in Philadelphia.

6. Dr. Beard's exposure of the Eddy Brothers, which I regard as perfectly convincing, and also of the asserted mind-reading of Brown, are important events in the history of American investigations of Spiritualism. Dr. Carpenter, however, admits that mind-reading is a fact.

So much for the exposures which have constituted the larger part of trustworthy American investigations of Spiritualism.

Speaking under the shadow of the experiments which I have already described by Prof. Crookes and Zöllner, I am now to gather up what little evidence of a similar character I can find on this side of the Atlantic. I have, I believe, passed through my fingers the entire mass of alleged evidence in favour of Spiritualism in this country. I cannot say I have read it all in detail, but I have examined the entire literature of the subject, so far as I know where it is to be found, and I have been helped by experts ; but there are only four pieces of evidence that I dare call fairly respectable. I am not saying that all who have given testimony to spiritualistic manifestations are liars, or knaves, or fools ; but the mass of the observations have been so carelessly made, or so loosely recorded, that they have little or no availability as evidence. I shut out, by this test of availability, ninety-nine parts in a hundred of all spiritualistic literature the United States has produced, as being utterly unworthy to be cited before a serious audience. What is there left in the little grain under the mountain of chaff ?

I hold in my hand a document made up from painstaking journals written by a revered doctor of divinity, residing at Stratford, Connecticut. He was in his prime, when certain marvellous manifestations occurred there in his mansion, in 1850. This venerable man is, or was lately, I believe, yet living ; and certain it is, that a son of his now commands the reverence of all New England

### *AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

and of the nation for his career as a professor in one of our oldest theological seminaries. I am taking pains not to mention names; but there are books well known to this audience which give all the particulars for which you can ask. I employ no details concerning this case, except those which have been given to the public repeatedly on the authority of the professor and his father. Here is a recent volume by the Rev. Charles Beecher, entitled "Spiritual Manifestations"; and in it, besides many other suggestive discussions, there is a consideration of the series of facts which are alleged to have occurred at Stratford. The authority not only of the doctor of divinity is given for these facts, but of this professor, who himself assisted, with his own brother, a physician, in investigating them. The year 1850 is a date quite well gone by; but, after the passage of thirty years since these facts occurred, nobody has explained them. The doctor of divinity told me, and other students, personally, in 1867, that the evidence of the facts was sufficient to hang a regiment. The idea of subterfuge is given up by the professor and his father. \*

Classifying the Stratford phenomena, I shall not follow their chronological order; but I hope you will examine the original account in detail, and I beg you to notice that the occurrences are such as we should expect if facts like those attested by Crookes and Zöllner are realities.

Notice first the movement of bodies without contact.

"An umbrella standing at the end of the hall leaped, without visible assistance, at least twenty-five feet." This is not a newspaper story, but an account made up from diaries and detailed journals kept on the spot by a man who holds to this hour the reverence of the ministry of Connecticut and of New England at large. "The doctor saw the movement, and knows that there was no perceptible agency by which the motion was produced. A bucket standing at the head of the stairs was thrown into the entry below. Smaller articles—such as nails, forks, knives, spoons, bits of tin, iron, and keys—were thrown from different directions about the house." "The articles thrown were picked up and placed on a mantel, and between the hours of one and four o'clock the number amounted to forty-six. As the doctor was sitting perhaps ten feet from the piano-forte, he saw a small toy mouse which was on the piano rise as if tossed, and, describing a parabola as it came, fall at his side, so near that he took it from the floor without leaving his chair. This he speaks of seeing as distinctly as he ever saw anything, the whole being perfectly in

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\* See the whole narrative in E. W. Capton's "Modern Spiritualism: its Facts and its Fanaticisms," and also in Professor Hare's "Spiritualism Scientifically Demonstrated," pp. 338-360.



## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

his view. He also saw in the same way, among other things, a nail, cotton-spool, and key arise from behind the sofa, which stood diagonally across the corner of the room. He arose, went to the sofa, looking behind and under it; but could discover nothing which might give impulse to the articles.

"He saw a tumbler," says this witness, "which was standing on a bureau, rise from its place, fly to a window, and dash out the only pane remaining whole in the window, when no person was within twenty feet of it, and the only persons in the room were himself and son, the latter standing by the doctor's side in the doorway of the room, a position in which it was utterly impossible for him to have done it without detection."

Take next the formation of human figures from the clothing of the household.

"*Saturday, the 16th.*—Soon after breakfast two or three images appeared in the middle chamber; soon again another, followed by others still, numbering in all eleven or twelve. They were formed of articles of clothing found about the house, stuffed to resemble the human figure. A lady's dress would be stuffed in some cases with a muff, again with a pillow, and sometimes with other dresses. A bonnet and shoes were aptly placed to complete the figure. These, on this occasion, all but one, represented females in the attitude of devotion, some having Bibles or Prayer-books placed before them. One, formed of Mrs. P.'s dress, so much resembled the real, that her little boy, scarce three years old, coming into the room with his sister, older, whispered: 'Be still! Mamma is saying her prayers.'"

Examine the following careful account of the phenomena of raps, and ask what the professor who attests these facts must think of the attempt to explain all such sounds by the movements of the toes or of the bones of the knees.

"About the first of May, Dr. P., of Boston, brother of the rev. doctor, and Professor P., of Andover, a son of the rev. doctor, went to Stratford, to 'expose the humbug,' and with a full belief that it was a trick of evil-minded persons, and that they should be able to detect and expose it, without trouble; and they were disappointed, as hundreds had been, under like circumstances. On Tuesday evening a loud rap was heard on the back door, seeming to be made by the knocker, loud enough to be heard twenty rods distant. The servant went to the door, but no person was there. After the lapse of five or eight minutes, the rap was repeated. It was then supposed that some one had done it mischievously; but, on looking about, no person was discovered. The knocking came the third time, when Dr. P. (the visitor) placed himself in the hall, perhaps four feet from the door, and the professor, of Andover, took a position on the steps without, each having full view of the door. The same loud raps were repeated on the door between them. The knocker did not move, nor could the eye detect any cause for what met the ear. The noise was heard

### *AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

throughout the house, and both the gentlemen were positive that no visible agent was employed to produce it. About bed-time a loud pounding was heard on the chamber-door. The gentlemen, each with a candle in hand, stood on either side of the door, as the pounding, as though done with a heavy boot, was continued. The noise appeared to each to be on the side of the door opposite to him."

Notice also the familiar phenomenon of abnormal writing, or psychography.

Many a time handwriting was found on small pieces of paper stuck to the wall. It was evident that there were two or more contending agencies engaged in the manifestations. Sometimes, when a communication was being made by alphabet, a paper would be dropped down, and on it written: "It is a lie. Don't believe what he says." Sometimes language the most profane, and occasionally, but rarely, obscene, would be written out in this way, experiences which have not been unknown with planchette. Inquiry was made as to how these contradictory communications were to be accounted for, and the answer was, that an opposing spirit was attempting to defeat the object of the first. To the question why did they destroy property, they replied: "For fun." It was asked of the opposing spirit what could be done to afford him relief. He answered that "the best thing they could do, would be to give him a piece of pie."

Writing would appear on the wall at times as if made with a pencil. On one occasion the doctor was writing at his desk, and, turning his back for a few moments, without leaving his chair, turned again to his paper, where he found written in large letters: "Very nice paper and very nice ink for the devil." The ink was not yet dry, the desk was not two feet from him as he sat, and he was entirely alone in the room.

Sixteen stones were thrown into the carriage window on a single drive, and four against the houses where calls were made.

When I open a pamphlet written by the renowned professor, the son of this doctor of divinity, I am not surprised to find him maintaining that spiritualism is "probably of Satanic origin." For one, I do not grant as much as that. The proposition in question does not appear to me to be supported by scientific proof, such as to justify the use of the word "probably." But this man, with the weight of his great reputation upon him, and knowing what he ventures, comes before the public with the result of his thirty years of acquaintance with the facts he investigated at first hand, and offers for their explanation the Biblical doctrine of demonology.

"Spiritualism is apparently right in claiming that a residuum of

*AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

fact remains, which goes straight to the point of proving the presence and activity of *extra human intelligence*. For one, I must concede this, at least as a *plausible hypothesis*.

"Admit that the query is a pertinent one: 'If evil angels come, why not good angels?' We answer: They do. 'Are they not all ministering spirits?' But not after the table-tipping, lying, swearing fashion. The evidence of evil in the phenomena is super-abundant; *the evidence of good is no more than a device of temptation must have.*"

"When the late President Day, of Yale College, first had his attention called to Spiritualism, a quarter of a century ago, said he: 'Either nothing is in it, or the devil is in it.' No candid man, who knows its history during these twenty-five years, will now affirm the first wing of the President's alternative. The second is as philosophical as it is scriptural.\*

"On one occasion my father was sitting in a small ante-room, about five feet square, at a little desk, where he kept his accounts. He was alone. An incessant rapping being kept up, he at length said, 'What do you want?' and, on using the alphabet, the answer was spelled out: 'Put your hand under the table.' He did so, and his hand was grasped by a human hand, warm and soft, like mine."

"The general character of the responses was rather low. Many of them were simply ridiculous. A good deal of what came reminded one of Swedenborg's ideas. The idea of the Atonement appeared to be specially distasteful, even repulsive. Christ, they seemed to think, was much the same as other men. There were, however, some that professed to be good spirits, who said they were there to keep the bad ones in order; but, on the whole, the development of thought was characterized by a consummate pettiness."

"In the retrospect, my father subsequently said, his religious convictions were not at all affected. He still held to the faith of his childhood, with the exception that his views of scriptural demonology were more distinct; and his belief strengthened that spirits good and bad do have access to us, and that they are in conflict."

"For my own part," concluded the Professor, "I could not account for what I saw and heard from reliable witnesses on any other theory but that of spirits, though I have never gone quite so far as to admit that any of those concerned were good spirits. That deceitful spirits can assume to be good is plain. The most probable hypothesis until science can prove something else, is that such was the fact here."†

Pardon me if I ask you now to notice how startling is the parallelism between certain facts recorded by Cotton Mather and those recorded by this doctor of divinity. Contrast 1850 in Con-

\* "Spiritualism: the Argument in Brief." Congregationalist Publishing Society, Boston, 1871.  
† Rev. Charles Beecher, "Spiritual Manifestations," pp 18-24. Boston, 1879.

AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

necticut with 1679 at the house of William Morse, of Newbury. What does Cotton Mather say?

"Bricks and sticks and stones were often by some invisible hand thrown into the house, and so were many pieces of wood. A long staff danced up and down in the chimney, and afterwards the same long staff was hung by a line and swung to and fro; and when two persons laid it on a fire to burn, it was as much as they could do by their joint strength to hold it there. A chest and a chair were carried from one place to another. Doors were barricaded. Keys taken some of them from the bunch where they were tied, and the rest sent flying about, with a loud noise of their knocking against one another. A box and a board were likewise moved without visible agency. A bag of hops was taken out of the chest, and persons were beaten therewith until some were scattered on the floor. While a man was writing, the ink-horn was snatched from him and disappeared; but at last he saw it drop down by the fire."

How closely that resembles the fact attested by Zöllner of the occasional dropping of matter into invisibility.

"Many who were witnesses of the phenomenon united in prayer that God would shorten the chain of the devil; but before the chain was shortened the invisible hand began to put on an astonishing visibility." This document is two hundred and one years old. "The observers even thought they felt the hand that touched them; but when they thought they laid hold of it, it gave them the slip. Once the fist beating the man was discernible; but they could not catch hold of it. At length an apparition of a blackamoor child showed itself plainly to them. Another time a drumming on the boards was heard, which was followed by a voice, which sang: 'Revenge! revenge! Sweet is revenge!' At this point the people, being terrified, prayed, and a voice was heard several times uttering these expressions: 'Alas! alas! We knock no more! We knock no more!'"\*

Far are Palfrey and Upham from fathoming the significance of the alleged phenomena observed and attested by our fathers in the days of the Salem Witchcraft Tragedy. These able but unsatisfactory historians explain that period by theories of trickery, legerdemain, and the various errors of diseased nerves and a frightened imagination. Cotton Mather says,† "The afflicted would complain of blows with great cudgels laid upon them; and we that stood by, though we could see no cudgels, yet could see the marks of the blows in red streaks upon their flesh." "An unseen rope, with a cruel noose, was placed about the neck of one of the afflicted, whereby she was choked

\* Mather's "Magnalia," Book VI., chap. vii. ch. vii.

† "Magnalia," Book VI.,

### AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

until she was black in the face ; and, though it was got off before it had killed her, yet there were the red marks of it, and of a finger and thumb near it, remaining to be seen for some time afterwards."

Recent physiology has much to say in explanation of these and other phenomena of stigmatization. It is not inclined to doubt Cotton Mather's testimony as to the objective facts he describes, although it is far from adopting his theory of their origin. I can parallel out of Mather's account of the "Wonders of the Invisible World," the whole series of the modern phenomena illustrating the operation of unknown forces, and including raps, movement of bodies without contact, levitation, red marks in the flesh, the passage of matter through matter, the disappearance of matter, the formation of spectres and of tangible hands. The *Edinburgh Review*, justly eulogistic as it is of Mr. Upham's highly reputed work, admits that he "is evidently very far, indeed, from understanding or suspecting how much light is thrown on the darkest part of his subject by physiological researches, carried on to the hour when he laid down his pen. In another generation the science of the human frame may have advanced far enough to elucidate some of the Salem mysteries, together with some obscure facts in all countries, which cannot be denied, while as yet they cannot be understood."

The German word *Poltergeist* summarizes all these experiences. The "racket sprite" is an ancient phrase, indicating what similarity has existed from century to century in these strange phenomena. One of John Wesley's houses witnessed events like those described by Mather and the modern professors. Greek writers describe them at Athens two thousand years ago. I venture to say that, if we had minute records of the experiences of the *Poltergeist* running back through history to the commencement of the world, I could show you the same similarity from century to century that I have now shown you between the records of two able observers, written two hundred years apart. When the telescope of history is placed upon the accounts of psychic phenomena in distant ages, you will find that there is nothing new under the sun. If beneath the microscope of analysts you discern in these records only illustrations of the activity of what Professor Crookes and Zöllner call the psychic force, you will thank me for discussing that topic, in order to prevent deluded men and women from taking the *Poltergeist* as a dazzling rival to the Holy Ghost and the Christ himself.

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

### THE PRELUDE.—“THE POLITICAL POWER OF ROMANISM IN AMERICAN CITIES.”

WHEN the Pope excommunicated Bishop McNamara of New York, the latter, very justly thinking that an Irish prelate should have as much power as an Italian, retaliated by excommunicating the Pope. The papal bull against McNamara had been published; and the New York preacher endeavoured to make public his authoritative rejoinder. No newspaper was willing to receive it; and he finally engaged a man who could neither speak nor read English to hold up the American bull of excommunication, in large print, on a poster elevated at the end of a long wand, in the presence of multitudes, in the open square near City Hall. Thus, at the end of a pole, there was advertised a notice, which, as the *Herald* of the next day thought, perhaps twenty thousand people read. The man who carried the announcement returned to his employer at night, and said, in broken English, that he did not know what the bishop's business was, but that he was sure to have plenty of customers. The *Tribune* tower looks down upon the busiest and state-liest street known to the history of republics. With the far-viewing eyes of its clock-faces it gazes across the sea towards Italy, and over America towards the sunset; but I believe that on the day when that event occurred those eyes did not see a much more significant sign of the times than was taking place just beneath the tower. An Independent Catholic movement, under the lead of Bishop McNamara, has opened with great promise in New York City, where it is more needed than anywhere else on our continent. It has begun, not without high encouragement, in the city of Boston. Again and again of late our chief auditorium has been filled to the roof with an audience nine-tenths of Irish, or of foreign descent, and raining down applause of the most earnest character upon Bishop McNamara's defence of himself against Vaticanism. It is true that with the applause has been mingled a certain amount of hissing, but this has only given zest to the occasion; and if the American people could have listened to the entire proceedings, the hissing would have been lost in acclaims of gladness that the Roman priesthood and laity are at last exhibiting independence of Rome.

Why is it important to encourage the Independent Catholics of the United States to aggressiveness in their present movement of secession from Romanism?

1. In 1870 the Pope of Rome, in the Vatican Decrees, put forth, with plenary authority, the claim that every convert and member of his church should place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another, namely, himself.

This very serious historical proposition is abundantly confirmed by the results of Mr. Gladstone's discussion of the Vatican Decrees, and by the multitudinous replies made to him in 1875-6. Do not forget that 120,000 copies of his pamphlet

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

called "Vatican Decrees" were sold in England in a few weeks, and that the replies by bishops and archbishops were answered with crushing force by himself in a new pamphlet called "Vaticanism." In the teeth of all attack, he carried triumphantly through to a niche in the grave and alarming, but undeniable and permanent, results of modern discussion, the propositions that the attitude of the Romish Church has changed since the Decrees of 1870, concerning papal infallibility, were issued, and that to-day the civil allegiance of Romanists throughout the world is claimed by the Pope.\*

Cardinal Manning himself says : "The Catholic Church is either the masterpiece of Satan, or the kingdom of the Son of God."† Baxter said : "If the Pope be not Antichrist he has bad luck to be so like him." John Henry Newman comments on these words, and admits their force, saying : "A sacerdotal order is historically the essence of the Church of Rome ; if not divinely appointed, it is doctrinally the essence of Antichrist."‡

Ten years have now passed since the Vatican Council, in which Cardinal Manning was so prominent a member, and it has been proved by the events of this period that Mr. Gladstone's interpretation of the Vatican Decrees was right, and that they do assert, in the name of the Pope, that the civil allegiance of all Romanists throughout the world is at his mercy.

2. In this state of affairs, it is a matter of high interest that Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, while sneering at Republican institutions, deliberately advises Romanists throughout the world to enter politics as Romanists, and to do this especially in England and the United States.§

Romanists, as such, cannot enter politics without breaking the civil peace between Catholics and Protestants, a result likely to cause incalculable mischief under universal suffrage.

3. Roman Catholics already, as such, in the persons of their priests, have entered politics in the governments of the largest American cities.

In New York City, for example, the researches of an expert, Dexter A. Hawkins, who went to Albany and spent a whole winter on this theme,|| have shown that the Roman Catholic Church in New York City has drawn from the public treasury in the past eleven years 6,007,118 dols. In 1878 alone it drew 710,850 dols. It has obtained from the city donations of real estate to the amount of 35,00,000 dols. On an average, this one favoured denomination in New York City has received from the public treasury an annual gift of more than 500,000 dols.

I keep in my room a map of the condition of landed estates in Europe in the middle ages, and it is dotted over from side to side and top to bottom with the patches of valuable soil owned by priestly organizations. Down to the time of the French Revolution, Europe was thickly sprinkled over by properties thus exempted from taxation. You would be astonished if you were to go into the tax-gatherer's office in New York and look at the map of the property exempted from taxation in our metropolis. A flagrant case occurred in Brooklyn, where a farmer bought in 1806 a large estate which now covers four or five blocks. He lived to be ninety years old. He had no children. The astute priesthood, finding him a very devout Catholic, obtained from him a will giving his property to a

\* See the "Life of Gladstone." By George B. Smith. London : 1879. Chap. xxv. † Lecture on "The Fourfold Sovereignty of God," p. 171.

‡ Essays. London : 1871. Vol. II. p. 173. § See *North American Review*, January, 1880. || See *New York Christian Advocate* for Jan. 1 and Jan. 29, 1880.

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

newly-organized benevolent society which had no Romish name, but only Romish trustees. The man did not die at a conveniently early date, and so it was necessary to call him insane. He was put under the guardianship of a Romish committee, who did not allow his relatives to come near him to undeceive him, and so the immense property came into the hands of the Romish society. A law was passed at Albany exempting this property permanently from taxation; and to-day, although the estate is worth millions, and ought to pay one hundred thousand dollars taxes, it goes scot free. The Jesuitical instructions are well known to direct Roman officials to keep an eye fastened upon rich elderly men who have no children, and to secure from them by Jesuitical means, if necessary,—and how much that signifies, let history indicate,—a will giving their whole property to the Romish church.\*

4. There are now in the United States 5,989 priests, 24 Catholic seminaries, 668 colleges and academies, 1,136 ecclesiastical students, 2,246 parochial schools, containing 405,234 pupils. The diocese of Baltimore has 84 parochial schools, with 15,000 pupils; that of Cincinnati, 140, with 25,000 pupils; that of St. Louis, 106, with 17,000 pupils; that of New York, 83, with 33,000 pupils. The estimated Catholic population of the United States is 6,143,222.†

5. The Romish priests promise the Romish vote to politicians who favour priestly views as to parochial schools, and grants of money and land to the Church from the public treasury, and local politicians almost never dare to run the risk of losing the Catholic vote in great cities. In Brooklyn, in the atrocious case which I have just noticed, local politicians do not dare to appeal to the legislature at Albany for the repeal of the law exempting Romish property from taxation, because they would lose the Romish vote in Brooklyn. The Tweed Ring, in 1869, paid nearly \$800,000 to the Romish Church in New York.

A law was passed by the Albany legislature imposing a perpetual tax of more than \$225,000 annually on New York City for the support of Roman Catholic parochial schools. In 1870 petitions from one hundred thousand citizens, and a wave of popular indignation, barely succeeded in effecting the repeal of this enactment.

In practice, therefore, it is found that city politicians cannot be trusted to resist the aggressions of the Romish Church upon the public treasury; so that what has happened in New York may happen easily in other large American cities.

6. The usual order of procedure in the attack of the Romish hierarchy on the common-school system and the public treasury, is being followed in every American municipality with a large Catholic population. This is the line of events, in seven cases out of ten, when Romish ecclesiastics endeavour to capture the common-school system or the treasury in our cities:

- (1) Parochial schools are opened.
- (2) The confessional is used to frighten parents into sending their children to the parochial schools.
- (3) Public discussion of the school question is avoided if possible.
- (4) If it cannot be avoided, a cry of liberalism is raised, and the demand made that Romish brothers and sisters should teach Romish children.
- (5) A cry of economy in city governments is raised.
- (6) Romish officials get into office.
- (7) Under the Romish officials in the school boards and the municipal govern-

\* See a map of the estate here in question, *New York Christian Advocate*, Jan. 29, 1880. † See Sadlier's Catholic Directory for 1880, p. 22.



## *AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

ment, parochial schools are presented for adoption by the city ; and if that adoption does not take place, as it has not usually in this country thus far, bargains are made which are as nearly as possible equivalent to such adoption, and the treasury is plundered.

In Cincinnati that was the order of events ; in New York that has been the order ; in St. Louis and Chicago the attempt of the Romish Propagandists has followed exactly that order. It is somewhat amusing and humiliating to notice that acute portions of the press, while opposing vehemently all connection between Church and State, have seconded the demand of the Romish priesthood for liberalism, when the latter word means the giving of the parochial schools into the care of the brothers and sisters of the Romish societies, and then, little by little, the granting of peculiar privileges to these schools, and finally, their adoption by the State. A real union of Church and State occurs whenever you give a part of your school funds to denominational schools. In New York the last proposal of the Roman Catholics, is to give the use of their parochial school buildings and teachers to the school board, adopt their curriculum of the present public schools, and reserve the privilege of teaching the children in the sectarian inculcations of Rome two hours each day after school-work is done.

7. Archbishop Williams of Boston, and Bishop McClosky of Louisville, and Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster, all echoing the Papal syllabus, assure us defiantly that parochial schools are to be established wherever practicable, and that Romish parents are forbidden, under heavy spiritual penalties, to send their children to American public schools, where parochial schools are within reach.

In the parochial schools, the children among the six million of the American population, will receive only such an education as will leave them fit to become political and ecclesiastical tools of the Romish priesthood.

8. In two ways, therefore, the Romish aggressive movement interferes with American politics : by direct bargaining with city politicians for the Catholic vote, and by such a crippling and degradation of the Romish population through parochial schools, that their political action can be dictated by the priesthood and the Vatican. For one, I call this substantially an infraction of the Monroe doctrine. It is bringing into this country a body of ecclesiastics all governed by a single man on the Tiber, and insisting that our public school system shall bow to the demands of this hierarchy, and that six millions in our population shall submit the education of their children to a system dictated entirely from abroad.

9. In view of the fact that one-fifth of the population of the United States lives in cities, the attitude of the Romish Church on parochial schools and in city politics acquires political significance of national dimensions.

*America cannot allow Vaticanism through parochial schools to cripple and degrade 6,000,000 of her population without suffering severely in other members of the body politic.*

I am no alarmist, and I do not think Rome is destined to conquer the United States ; but she may conquer one limb of our body politic, and thus give trouble to our whole organization. It is one thing to say you are afraid America will be Romanized, and another to say you are afraid that six millions of our population, a great majority of them living in our cities, may be so managed by Rome, as to injure greatly the cause of reform in the municipal governments of the United States.

10. A revolt of Independent Catholics from Vaticanism is, therefore, in the United States, of great political, as well as of educational and religious importance.

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

In order to succeed, the revolt must be chiefly stimulated and directed by a reformed priesthood and by Catholic laymen themselves. Here and now I am not defending what is called the Old Catholic movement, but rather the Independent Catholic movement, distinctly symbolized by the efforts of Father McNamara in New York and Boston, and also by the operations of the Governments in France and Belgium at this hour.

11. The examples of Belgium and France show that the Independent Catholic movement may succeed in even nominally Catholic countries. Marshal MacMahon's ministry had in it five Protestants and only four Catholics. Under President Grévy, the same proportion of Catholics was continued, and several of the literary and leading minds in France have lately expressed themselves most favourably to Protestantism. The Communists, in 1871, destroyed no Protestant church property. One of the noble French citizens of your cultured city, Professor Cyr, has recently said: "A century ago the sons of the Huguenots were galley slaves: now they not only sit in Councils of State, but even preside over them."

In Belgium, the Government lately took the public schools out of the hands of the priests, allowing the latter to give religious instruction to the pupils, although this was to be free and voluntary on the part of the children, or their parents, to receive or refuse it. The resistance of the entire Roman Catholic clergy almost brought on civil war. The result has been, however, as the Prime Minister of Belgium states, that out of 2,575 burgomasters, only 25 preferred to obey the priests rather than the Government. Out of 1,135 students in the Roman Catholic normal schools, 578, or more than one-half, have abandoned the Church schools and their allegiance to the hierarchy, and entered themselves as students at the normal schools of the State.

If the Independent Catholic movement can thus succeed in Catholic Belgium, where all Protestantism three hundred years ago was cut up by the roots by the sword of the Duke of Alva, the hope is not unreasonable that this same Catholic movement, if priestly monopolies and aggressions go far enough, may have as much success, where it is needed quite as much, on this Pilgrim soil in Protestant America.

Your enthusiasm is well justified under this historic roof. I beg our friends of the Independent Catholic movement to be assured that the sympathy not only of evangelical, but of unevangelical sects, is with them. Pardon me, however, if I ask Independent Catholics to beware of dropping into rationalism, and of losing any of the devoutness Romanism has taught them; and to see to it that in becoming Independent Catholics they cease only to be Romanists, and do not cease to be Christians. The transition from the state of the Roman Catholic believer to that of the Independent Catholic is a time full of temptations, intellectual, social and moral. If a man be young, if a man be effeminate in his temperament, if a man be peculiarly open in his trade, and in his relations with friends and society at large, to attacks by sneers, or social coldness and indifference expressed without sneers, there may be a dropping into doctrinal indifference, even if rationalism be not reached. I rejoice in the devout temperament of those who are leading the Independent Catholic movement in Dublin, in New York, and Boston. If only God's Spirit can breathe upon our American Catholic populations and awaken a wind of devoutness to join itself with the tempest of independence which, as I believe, is rising, or will yet rise, on the Charles and the Mystic, on the Merrimac, the Hudson and the Mississippi, as well as on the lakes of Killarney, the Rhine and the Seine, then the words which Longfellow, in des-

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

eribing an historic scene occurring beneath this roof in 1746, when a Romish fleet threatened New England, has put into the mouth of Thomas Prince, may become the right expression of the triumph of the Independent Catholic movement :

And even as I prayed  
The answering tempest came;  
It came with a mighty power,  
Shaking the windows and walls,  
And tolling the bell in the tower  
As it tolls at funerals.  
The fleet it overtook,  
And the broad-sails in the van  
Like the tents of Cushan shook,  
Or the curtains of Midian.  
O never were there wrecks  
So terrible as these !  
Down on the reeling decks  
Crashed the o'erwhelming seas !

### THE LECTURE.

AVAILABILITY in published evidence is made up of three elements : the moral character of the witness, the intellectual carefulness of the record, and the test conditions under which observation occurs. If those who think our American history contains much evidence of the action of superhuman agents are disappointed that I find nothing worth citing in the voluminous but vacant mass of our native Spiritualistic literature, they must remember that I apply at every point these three tests. With these severe standards of judgment, I have found, besides the Salem witchcraft and the Stratford facts, only two other series of American phenomena attested in such a way by competent observers that I can venture to bring them before this serious assembly.

It is my fortune to hold in my hand an elaborate affidavit by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, concerning facts observed by himself. In view of the great respectability of this document, which is already public property, but has never had the attention it deserves, I shall read the whole of it. I am unwilling to take up time by making extracts; but when an argument depends upon testimony like this, details must be used with considerable fulness in order to be effective. This affidavit was given at Worcester, April 15th, 1857, and was subscribed and sworn to before Henry Chapin, Justice of the Peace, by the brilliant man of letters, the noble soldier, and the Massachusetts statesman, Col. Higginson. The date, as you will notice, is just before the famous Agassiz Investigation. The gentleman to whom

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

Mr. Higginson refers as a psychic I have met in this city, and he has told me that this document belongs to anybody who chooses to use it, and that there can be no reason for not citing it in public.

### A STATEMENT OF FACTS.

*To whom it may concern :*

The public attention has recently been attracted by the alleged powers, as a "medium," of Mr. F. L. H. Willis, of Cambridge, and by the singular proceedings connected with his "suspension" from the Divinity School of Harvard University. In justice to Mr. Willis, and to an extraordinary class of yet unexplained scientific facts, I wish to state some phenomena observed by me during two evenings spent with him at a private residence in this city. There were from nine to twelve persons present, all, except Mr. Willis, being respectable citizens of this place, including one of our most experienced physicians. We sat around a long dining-table. The room was not brilliantly, but sufficiently lighted, so that every movement of every person could be distinctly watched—and I, at least, watched them very closely.

I shall omit the details of the phenomena, and give only the general heads :

1. The musical instruments which had been previously placed by the company beneath the table—a guitar, a small drum, an accordion, and two bells—were moved about from place to place, lifted and knocked against the under side of the table, and repeatedly and loudly played upon. Two were several times played in unison, at opposite ends of the table, and entirely beyond the reach of the medium. During this proceeding the whole table was several times raised, and one slab of it (being an extension table) was lifted altogether from its support, and vibrated in the air, without contact of hands.

2. The accordion was raised into Mr. Willis's lap, and being held by him, *with one hand*, between his knees, was played very skilfully, and executed a variety of tunes, selected by us—and even in answer to the alleged *mental* requests of some of the company, though not mine. Excellent imitations of the oboe, violincello, and double bass were also given. It is well known that the accordion requires in playing the use of two hands.

3. Upon our extinguishing the lamps, for the sake of experiment, faint lights appeared upon the table near Mr. Willis, two or three at a time, moving about like glowworms, which they resembled. Other lights flickered in the air with a more rapid motion, like fire-flies. Upon my obtaining and opening a phial of phosphorus, the lights increased in intensity, gradually diminishing, when I recorked it, to their original amount. Everybody in the room perceived them distinctly.

4. The room being still dark, the accordion was held on the table by Mr. Willis, and as it played in the manner before described,

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

faint lights flickered around the keys of the instrument. During the darkness all the phenomena were more intense, but it seemed very disagreeable to the nerves of Mr. Willis, and he begged to have the lamps restored.

5. The room being again lighted, I proceeded to try some closer experiments. Taking the accordion in my hand, between my knees, and guarding with my feet against the possibility of contact, I found, to my surprise, that the other end was seized by an invisible force and the different keys audibly handled, producing at last musical sounds, but quite imperfectly. Before long, however, it was pulled away from me with very great force, and dropped on the floor. Others afterwards took the instrument, but it was played in no other hands. I may add that I simply held it by the end, with one hand, and that I have no knowledge of the instrument; also, that the hands of all the company were upon the table, and that I was beyond the reach of Mr. Willis's person.

6. Looking under the table while the guitar was playing, *I saw, with perfect distinctness, the instrument lying on its back, untouched by any hand, but with faint flickerings of light playing over the strings.* I could also see the feet of the persons nearest it, and that they were not in contact with it, while Mr. Willis was entirely out of its reach. No other person looked under the table, I believe, nor did I mention these observations till the phenomena had ceased, for I did not wish, at the time, to share my investigations with any one.

7. The guitar was moved slowly along, by some force to me inscrutable, and lifted between my knees, the neck resting on my left thigh. At the suggestion of some of the company, I began to sing, first placing myself in such a position as to guard the instrument from possibility of contact. *Every song I sung was accompanied accurately and gracefully on the guitar, with a constantly increasing facility of adaptation.* The best accompaniment of all was finally played to a peculiar and rather difficult Portuguese song, probably not known to a dozen persons in America besides myself. I cannot myself play the guitar, but I have heard it played a good deal, and I *know* that the accompaniment was an extraordinary thing, apart from the mystery of its origin. I *know* that I was beyond the reach of any part of Mr. Willis's person, and that it was physically impossible for any one to touch the instrument without my detecting it.

8. During all these various phenomena, I felt repeatedly a delicate grasp upon my feet, precisely resembling that of a hand, with distinct fingers. Upon my slipping off my shoe, it was still more distinct, and was in all cases accompanied by a very peculiar electrical sensation, as when two persons complete the circuit of an electro-magnetic battery. Keeping my own counsel, I heard precisely the same phenomena simultaneously described by persons at the other end of the table. Afterward, placing my hand beneath the table, I felt the same contact still more distinctly upon that. All the rest of the company held their hands upon the table, and I was beyond the reach of Mr. Willis.

AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

I might make these statements still more wonderful by going more into detail, but have probably gone so far already beyond the credulity of my readers, that I had better stop. If any refuse to believe these facts on my testimony, I can only say that I should have found it hard to believe them on theirs. Like them, I prefer to verify novel facts by my own observation. I can only say for myself further that I have been all my life a student of the natural sciences, and have earned by this time some confidence in the carefulness of my own observations, and the accuracy of my own senses.

The question of the "spiritual" origin is not now raised ; it is a simple question of fraud or genuineness. If I have not satisfactory evidence of the genuineness of these phenomena which I have just described, then there is no such thing as evidence, and all the fabric of natural science may be a mass of imposture. And when I find, on examination, that facts similar to these have been observed by hundreds of intelligent persons in various places, for several years back, I am disposed humbly to remember the maxim attributed to Arago : "He is a rash man who, outside of pure mathematics, pronounces the word *impossible*."

THOS. WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Worcester, ss., April 15th, 1857.

Subscribed and sworn to before me,  
HENRY CHAPIN, *Justice of the Peace.*

In a court of law that testimony would be worth citing, and therefore I bring it before this assembly. Even without the oath it would be worth quoting here, for we know the author of the document, and more than a score of years has passed since these facts were observed, and they are not yet explained. It is true that the psychic here mentioned was once, when a stripling, brought before the faculty of a renowned university and suspended, not with absolute dishonour, but with the provision that he could not come back until he proved that he was not a trickster in the production of these strange phenomena. He had been accused of producing them with his feet ; and because a long and dangerous illness overtook him, and he could not prove to the satisfaction of thoroughly prejudiced men that he did not thus produce them, he was never received again to the Divinity School of Harvard University, from which he had been dropped. I have myself had a room in the building where he passed nights of agony, assailed by these phenomena against his will. When he began to undergo the experiences characteristic of the life of a psychic, he was full of contempt for Spiritualism. He had no tendency to dip into the occult sciences. After being annoyed for weeks, he went to one of the most reverend ministers of a liberal denomination, and was distinctly advised to study the phenomena and ascertain

*AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM,*

whether science had anything to offer in explanation of them. In doing this he was brought into connection with some professors of physical science, and through their charges of trickery he was thrust out of his course of study. He is now in the medical profession of this city, and has an honoured name there. For years he has not possessed the powers which belonged to him as a young man; but when I meet him to-day, and hear the story of his persecution, when I read this careful affidavit of this man of letters and of politics, and of a social and intellectual standing which no one thinks of impeaching for a moment, I believe it to be my duty to you, and to the author of this affidavit, and to a very vexed and massive theme, to put before you the evidence for whatever it is worth.

D. Luther V. Bell is my only remaining witness. As superintendent of the McLean Asylum, he was of necessity an expert in the study of nervous derangement. He prepared two "Dissertations upon what is termed the Spiritual Phenomena," and they were read at the meetings of the Association of Medical Superintendents of American Insane Hospitals at Washington and Boston, in 1854 and 1855. These essays were never printed in full, but were placed for citation in the hands of President Mahan, who admits the facts, but whose work on "Modern Mysteries Explained and Exposed," is everywhere opposed to the theory that the phenomena occurred by the agency of spirits. The testimony of Dr. Bell, as well as that of Colonel Higginson, becomes both more credible and more instructive now that it can be cited in connection with the similar evidence attested by Professors Crookes, Zöllner, Weber, Scheibner and Fechner. The most remarkable facts observed by Dr. Bell anticipate by seventeen years the famous experiment of the London Dialectical Society under the presidency of Sir John Lubbock, in moving a table without contact. President Mahan himself explicitly admits that they fully sustain the claims that heavy bodies may be moved without being touched, and that the movement, too, may be in accordance with intelligence.

"The following," says Dr. Bell, "is the minute of one of the physical manifestations: I went to the house of Jonathan Brown, Jr., Esq., cashier of the Market Bank, with Mr. Homer Goodhue, just returned from the South. Mr. Goodhue for twenty years was the supervisor of our male department, and well known in character, at least, to many members of this association. He is a gentleman of orthodox faith, and not free from the prejudices of that denomination against this new thing as a religious element. He never before had been present, or seen any manifestations. In fact, he had never seen a 'medium' or attended a 'circle.' Mrs. Brown and a young woman,

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

Mr. Brown's niece, made up the list of the five persons present. This 'medium' is exceedingly small, not weighing more than eighty to ninety pounds, and yet her gifts appear to be very great in effecting infractions of gravitation, but not certain or strong in the other classes of powers. We sat in the double parlours, joined with folding doors, or rather, doors sliding on trucks along an iron rod projecting one-half to three-quarters of an inch above the level of the carpet. We began the operations by opening the family dining-table, and inserting two or three leaves, elongating it from about six to perhaps nine or more feet. I state this, as it allowed an eye to be kept as to wires, etc. It had six legs, and was of such a weight that when the castors were all in a right line for motion, I could with both my hands, and as strong a pull as my strength of fingers would allow, just put it in motion.

"After an evening's performance of all the usual responses, motions of the table with hands upon it, with the fingers' ends just touched, etc., which were satisfactory, it was proposed, especially as the motions were unusually facile and free *with* contact, to make the trial *without* touch. I was master of ceremonies, and directed things to suit my own views. We stood on the sides of the table, three and two, and back from it from twelve to eighteen inches. Our hands were raised above it about the same distance. As the table was rather low, and my height is unusual, I was able to see between the bodies of all present and the table. We spoke as if we were addressing persons in reality, and once in a while we received remarks from the 'spirit,' as is assumed, the medium being 'impressed' and writing on paper before her.

"The table commenced its journey down the room, keeping midway, reached the iron crossing at the sliding doors, surmounted it, and passed on. One of us ran and pushed away a centre-table in the middle of the other parlour, intending to allow as long a journey as possible. It moved on, sometimes slowly, then with a rapid slide, a foot or two at once. At length it reached the end of the second parlour, as near as the mirror made it safe to go. I expressed my thanks to the 'spirits' for the completeness of the manifestation, and begged that they would gratify us by returning the table back to the point of beginning. It reversed its course. At a momentary halt, I suggested to the company that we should all gradually remove from it our bodies and hands, to see how far the 'influence' would extend. It was found that when we withdrew more than about eighteen or twenty inches, the motion ceased. And indeed, on returning, the capacity for motion seemed to be lost for three or four minutes afterwards, as if a certain accumulation of power were in progress. When the fore-legs of the table reached the iron bar, it came to a dead stand. We waited, and the table heaved and trembled and creaked, but could not rise above the obstacle. Presently the medium was impressed, and wrote that if we would lift those two legs over the iron, they—that is, the 'spirits'—thought they could bring the ether four along. We did not hesitate to afford



### *AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

the suggested aid ; whereupon the spirits succeeded in moving the whole on, without interruption, until the table was as high up in the room from which it started as it was at commencing, but about four feet over from the central line to one side. I expressed my gratification at their success, but said : 'There is one thing more I wish you to do—move the table at right angles, so that these chairs will be right to sit in, as they were at first.' The table immediately moved at right angles, as desired, into the precise position designated. This evening's performance now closed, no person of us having the remotest doubt as to the fact of this considerable motion having taken place with no human power. The entire space passed over was about fifty feet."

It will be noticed that the American facts I have emphasized, although of much earlier date, are paralleled by the recent investigations of the Leipzig and Gottingen and British Professors.

My presentation of American evidence, however, is not quite closed. I hold in my hand a book entitled "Visions," by Dr. Edward H. Clarke, lately deceased, of this city, and revered by all as a man of the first eminence in science. The volume has an introduction by that physician, professor of medicine, and poet, whose seventieth birthday has recently been celebrated, and whom the world knows as the "Autocrat of the Breakfast Table." You will not accuse either of these men of fanaticism on the topic of the occult sciences. The object of this volume is to explain, by natural causes, false visions, clairvoyance, second sight, and allied phenomena. The book, in my judgment, is thoroughly successful in showing that a great number of visions are the results of nervous disease. The query, however, is concerning a certain residuum of human experience, which thus far has not been explained by theories of physical malady. As to this residuum, what does this, I had almost said rationalistic, book say? I beg leave to throw a concession from this keen volume into the mass of the evidence I am presenting, for it comes from a source justly prejudiced against the theory that spirits move matter, or that visions of the dying represent realities. Dr. Clarke says (p. 276): "From the observation of death-beds for more than a quarter of a century, during which period I have often witnessed the dissolution of persons of all ages and conditions, I can recall only a single instance of which the phenomena admitted the possibility of any other interpretation than the physiological one."

Of course it may be that there are many such instances in the world, although this physician never fell upon more than one of them. I have heard of a temperance orator who was interrupted by a young man in his audience with a correction. The latter said cer-

### AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

tain facts were within his knowledge with reference to the sale of liquor. The temperance orator, a man of dignity, said in answer, that he knew nothing of such infractions of the law. The young man rose and replied: "I beg leave to observe that my knowledge, however limited, is not to be off-set by the gentleman's ignorance, however extensive." It is easy to place too much stress upon merely negative evidence, or upon the fact that one man has not seen every thing.

I have a purpose in reading this extract, for I believe it will call up in the secret thoughts of this assembly more than one example of parallel experiences, too sacred to be mentioned in public, or spoken of except in whispers in the households of faith.

"It was night. The departing one was a lady of middle age. Her death, though momentarily expected from cardiac disease, was not announced or preceded by the usual anæsthesia of the dying. During the night, when awake, her mental action was perfect. She conversed a few minutes before dying, as pleasantly and intelligently as ever. There was no stupor, no *delirium*, no *strangeness*, no *moribund symptom* indicating cerebral disturbance. Her cardiac symptoms alone foreshadowed the great change. After saying a few words, she turned her head upon her pillow as if to sleep, then unexpectedly turning it back, a glow, brilliant and beautiful exceedingly, came into her features; her eyes, opening, sparkled with singular vivacity; at the same moment, with a tone of emphatic surprise and delight, she pronounced the name of the earthly being nearest and dearest to her; and then, dropping her head upon her pillow, as unexpectedly as she had looked up, her spirit departed to God who gave it." It is the physician who is speaking; it is the man of scientific eminence who is uttering here his opinion. "The conviction," says Dr. Clarke, "forced upon my mind that something departed from her body, at that instant rupturing the bonds of flesh, was stronger than language can express."

In the introduction to Dr. Clarke's volume, Oliver Wendell Holmes writes as follows:

I may venture to add that I myself knew personally the subjects of the cases recorded on pages 39, 262, and 277 of this book, and have heard a minute and circumstantial account of each of these cases from the lips of Dr. Clarke himself. With reference to the last case, Dr. Clarke mentioned a circumstance to me not alluded to in the essay. At the very instant of dissolution, it seemed to him, as he sat at the dying lady's bed-side, that there arose something—an undefined yet perfectly apprehended somewhat to which he could give no name, but which was like a departing presence. I should have listened to this story less receptively, it may be, but for the fact that I had heard the very same experience, almost in the very same words, from the lips of one whose evidence is eminently to be

### AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

relied upon. With the last breath of the parent she was watching, she had the consciousness that "something" arose as if the "spirit" had made itself cognizable at the moment of quitting its mortal tenement. The coincidence in every respect of these two experiences has seemed to me to justify their mention in this place.

Let Dr. Clarke and Dr. Holmes, with these words on their lips, take their place—not among the witnesses to the realities of psychical phenomena, but to the reality of certain experiences of the dying, too holy to be discussed except in hushed whispers and in the secret thoughts.

In the year he died, the great Agassiz proclaimed his faith in the possession by man of a double set of mental powers. The public attention has never been drawn to the final utterances of Agassiz on psychology, but it is likely to be rivetted on his ultimate theory on this point, if only Brown-Séquard's experiments, which led Agassiz into his last opinions, are ever published. In the spring of 1873, Agassiz delivered, at his Zoological Museum in Cambridge, a course of lectures on the "Methods of Creation." On the first of May, according to a verbatim report which I find in the *New York Daily Tribune*, of May 17th, 1873, he made an allusion to certain experiments performed by Dr. Brown-Séquard in Boston, and used this remarkable language :

Are all mental faculties one? Is there only one kind of mental power throughout the whole animal kingdom, differing only in intensity and range of manifestation? In a series of admirable lectures given recently in Boston, by Dr. Brown-Séquard, he laid before his audience a *new philosophy* of mental powers. Through physiological experiments, combined with a careful study and comparison of pathological cases, he has come to the conclusion that there are *two sets*, or a *double set of mental powers*, in the human organism, or *acting through the human organism*, essentially different from each other. The one may be designated as our ordinary conscious intelligence; the other a superior power, which controls our better nature; solves, sometimes suddenly and unexpectedly, nay, even in sleep, our problems and perplexities; suggests the right thing at the right time, acting through us *without conscious acting of our own*, though susceptible of training and elevation: or perhaps I should rather say, *our organism may be trained to be a more plastic instrument through which this power acts in us.*

I do not see why this view should not be accepted. It is in harmony with facts as far as we know them. The experiments through which my friend, Dr. Brown-Séquard, has satisfied himself that the subtle mechanism of the human frame—about which we know so little in its connection with mental processes—is *sometimes acted upon by a power outside of us, as familiar with that organism as*

## AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.

we are ignorant of it, are no less acute than they are curious and interesting.

Did Agassiz, in this very significant passage, mean simply the reflex action of the automatic portion of the nervous system? Not at all. Agassiz could not have referred to anything to his mind so commonplace as automatic nervous action, for he employs Brown-Séquard's experiments as the justification of a "new" philosophy, and of novel propositions as to a power above us, and acting through us, and concerning the possession by man of a double set of mental powers. The whole connection of the passage shows that Agassiz meant exactly what he said, and that one of his subsidiary purposes was to initiate discussion concerning Brown-Séquard's experiments. These are not names to be treated lightly—Agassiz, Clarke, Holmes, and Brown-Séquard.

But here I take up the freshest number of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, and I find Zöllner's last volume reviewed by Professor Hoffmann in terms of extravagant eulogy, as the basis of what is now called in Germany *Transcendental Physics*. In the New York *Nation*, with its crudely Spencerian metaphysics, and very narrow outlook upon philosophical discussions, there has lately appeared a letter from Germany, telling you that Zöllner is highly unpopular on account of what he has said concerning psychical phenomena. That fact I am perfectly willing to admit. Professor Wundt has attacked Zöllner; but the *Nation* does not print the intelligence that Fechner, Weber, and Scheibner united with Zöllner in his experiments, and now justify him in his conclusions. The *Nation* says nothing about the circumstance that Professors Hoffmann, Fichte, and Ulrici have devoted not a little of the acutest metaphysical discussion to these asserted phenomena. A long review of Zöllner's last volume by the foremost philosophical magazine of the world closes with the conclusion that he is to be criticized on only one point, namely, his theory that there is a fourth dimension of space needed to explain the phenomena he has observed. The *Zeitschrift für Philosophie* thinks that he is to be accused of extravagance in maintaining that there is a fourth dimension of space. Lotze says that the idea of such a fourth dimension is utterly inconceivable, and that when Helmholtz and other mathematicians emphasize the theory that this dimension exists, they are simply causing science to make a grimace to frighten the uninitiated. All Zöllner's other conclusions are justified here, and so the experiments of Brown-Séquard, and the final philosophy of Agassiz concerning a double set of mental powers, may well be a portico for us to this temple of German investigation. Without com-

*AMERICAN INVESTIGATIONS OF SPIRITUALISM.*

mitting himself either to any spiritualistic or to any anti-spiritualistic theory, Ulrici replies to Wundt, and maintains emphatically, in the face of Germany, the very cautious but highly significant proposition that "the so-called spiritism is a scientific question, which science, in its own interest, must seek to solve."\*

Talleyrand said to Lepaux: "The founder of the Christian system suffered himself to be crucified, and He rose again. You should try to do as much." We may repeat these words to any man who pretends to have received a new revelation from heaven. I am by no means fearful that in the field of psychical phenomena a new religion will be found. If modern investigation, however, in discussing Zöllner's facts and the new transcendental physics, has something to say to us which may prove that the communications with familiar spirits in the times of Baal, if not a reality, were at least based upon such occult forces that the pretence of inspiration might easily be defended before the ignorant; if modern science can lift for us the curtain behind which we may see, in clear light, the explanation of witchcraft, sorcery, soothsaying, magic, and pagan oracles; if, under the microscope and the scalpel, we are to have uncovered the forces which account for the power many false religions have had, for one I say, God speed the lifting of the veil and our progress into this undiscovered scientific country. The advanced pioneers of thought are undoubtedly moving into a strange territory, but we must not fear exploration.

Lord of peoples, Lord of lands,  
Look across these shining sands  
Through the furnace of the noon,  
Through the white light of the moon,  
Thou, our morrow's pathway knowing,  
Through the strange world round us growing,  
Speak and tell us where we are going!  
We are weak, but Thou art strong;  
Short our lives, but Thine is long;  
We are blind, but Thou hast eyes;  
We are fools, but Thou art wise.

WHITTIER: "Song of Slaves in the Desert."

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\* *Zeitschrift*, 1880, First number, p. 143.

*BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR, THE  
SUPERHUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL.*

THE PRELUDE.—“METHODS OF PREVENTING ELECTION FRAUDS.”

FOUR reforms appear to be necessary to prevent Washington, and the other fathers of our republic, from blushing over the success of their experiment in republican government. Popular suffrage, to be safe, must be intelligent, independent, full, and fairly counted. Let either of these qualities be wanting, and universal suffrage will, in many places, bring rascality very frequently to the summit in municipal affairs, often in State legislatures, and sometimes in national concerns, especially in closely-contested elections, with great spoils at stake. When Macaulay was in India, in 1834, a paper on legislation was sent to him by a citizen of Madras, who remarked that the difficulty with India was that men swore falsely in that country. “Now,” continued Macaulay’s correspondent, “I can suggest to your honour a means of making men swear truly in India. If you will cut off the great toe on the right foot of every man who swears falsely, there will be reform in this country to your honour’s glory.” Macaulay regarded the suggestion as ludicrously futile, and yet he said that in India he had adopted certain rules as to legal evidence which would make the hair of the judges, and even of their wigs, in England, stand on end.

In describing Mr. Bacon’s famous Anti-Fraud Ballot-box, I hope you will not suppose that I think men can be made honest by machinery. Rascality at the polls cannot be abolished by any mechanical invention, but it may be embarrassed, and even practically annulled.

This ballot-box which I hold in my hand is the invention of Mr. Steuben T. Bacon, of 125, West Concord-street, Boston, and is now under consideration by a committee at the State House for adoption in the elections of this Commonwealth. It is, as you see, a square structure, with two glass sides and a movable top and bottom. Its essential parts are a long flat hook inside, on which ballots are strung like trout on a willow twig, and an enumerating apparatus which strikes a bell like that of a conductor’s punch, and turns up a new number every time a ballot is put upon the wire. The hook is shaped like the letter “U,” and the top of one branch of the “U” projects as an arrow-head through the two slides on which I place my ballot. Each ballot has a hole in it, and is strung on the projecting top of the hook, and pressed down by a washer. I place on this ballot a washer, and touching a portion of the machinery, the slides open, and the ballot by the weight of the washer drops into the box, while the bell is rung. That is nearly the whole of the operation of this beautiful invention, and yet you will notice that in spite of the simplicity of the mechanism, a dozen forms of fraud in ballot-boxes are prevented entirely, or certainly embarrassed by the use of this hook, the washers, the bell, and the enumerator.

## *BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR,*

The box is sealed when brought to the polls. The names of the officers whose business it is to seal it are written over the seal. Only the duly authenticated officers at the polls have a right to break the seal and take out the screw which permits the opening of the ballot-slides. The registering apparatus, which is also under seal, and to be opened only by city or town officials after the election, is set so that the first vote which drops in will bring the number "one" to the front.

Each vote is strung on the hook, with a washer above it. If, therefore, I take up several votes and try to put them in at once, I shall easily be detected in that process of stuffing. Here I have three ballots. Suppose that I try to vote them at once. I place them face downward on the machine, but only one washer goes over the three, and when I drop them the bell rings but once for the three, and the enumerator advances but a single unit for the three. These washers are not numbered. They might be, so as to correspond with the check list of the clerk, but that would in some measure destroy the secrecy of the voting. Secrecy is a great aid to independence in the ballot; and so the inventor, although he had a method of numbering the ballots as they were dropped in, has left out that portion of his mechanism in this second and improved form of his instrument. Notice that the enumerator, the washer, and the position of the ballot on the hook inside, prevent the counting of those three pieces of paper as three votes. You have the enumerator, the position of the ballot on the hook, and the washer, to prove, by their joint testimony, the fact that stuffing has been practised.

The polls now close, and we proceed to canvass the votes. I turn the box on its side, but I cannot open it until I break a seal affixed to the keyhole by an authorized official. The paper over the seal bears his name. After the box is opened, you find the ballots all hanging here on the hook, as trout on your willow withe, when you fish in the mountains, with only primitive arrangements for preserving your game. Every boy knows that he cannot put one trout beyond another on the same string; and so you know that you cannot put one ballot beyond another on this hook. The washers here prevent entirely the confusion of ballot with ballot. Your returning officers now sit before the open ballot-box, and representatives of the rival political parties are present while the canvass, count, record, and return of an election are being made. The enumerator shows how many men have voted. I now, as a returning officer, lift up a ballot without drawing it off the hook, and announce it to the recording clerk as a straight ticket for this or that party, or as an independent ticket, or as a scratched ticket, as the case may be, and leave it hanging in the box. I bring next to the front of the hook this stuffed group of ballots; but I find that there are more ballots here than washers. The fraud is at once revealed. This washer proves, and so does the enumerator, that only one man voted; but here are three ballots on the hook. I leave the ballots hanging, and with my scissors cut through diagonally, and destroy the lower half of two of them, and count only one; but I do not tear off the stumps of these two fraudulent votes.

Suppose that I am a rascal, and have a ring on my finger with something like a McKinnon pen in the nob of it. Cannot I erase a few names here, if they are distasteful to me? Yes; but you are likely to see me if I undertake to commit such a fraud. The ink, too, will not flow on a horizontal line. But fraud can be committed by sleight of hand, you think, when men's backs are turned, or when they are gone to dinner, or when they are half drunk. The ballots are not taken off the hook; and it is almost impossible to mark them, as they hang freely, without any backing behind them. If I were to use my hand for a back-

## *THE SUPERHUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL.*

ing, I should probably be discovered. Even if I were to succeed, I should be very likely to mark the ballots in such a way that the uniformity in shape of my scratches would show that they were made by one man while the ballots are on the hook. The similarity of the marking will be the means of detecting my rascality.

In New York City, when the number of ballots found in a ballot-box is greater than the number checked as having been voted, the officers put back the ballots into the box, shuffle them, and then put their hands behind them and draw out as many as the excess requires. But there are men with very light fingers, who can feel the difference between a long ballot and a short one, a thick one and a thin one, and thus be enabled to draw their rival's ballot. Some of the shrewdest kinds of fraud have been practised in this sifting of the votes. Nothing of the sort can be effected when the Anti-Fraud Ballot-box is used.

After the canvass, the box is sealed again, and the votes and washers kept on the hook for a sufficient time to allow the rectification of mistakes. When the election has wholly passed by, the proper officer empties the box, sets back the enumerator to a cipher, seals the box, and it is then ready to be used in a new election.

Who are petitioning Massachusetts for the legalization of this Anti-Fraud Ballot-box?

Boston, March 19th, 1879.

Having examined the device presented by Steuben T. Bacon for securing honest voting and counting of ballots at elections, we give it our cordial approbation, and desire its adoption by the Legislature of this State, for use at all elections held therein.

I. INGERSOLL BOWDITCH,  
EZRA FARNSWORTH,  
EDWARD AUSTIN,  
LEVERETT SALTONSTALL,  
RUFUS S. FROST,  
WM. LLOYD GARRISON,  
A. A. MINER,  
WENDELL PHILLIPS.

George William Curtis, Henry Ward Beecher, Alexander H. Rice, and last but not least, William Lloyd Garrison, have strongly commended this invention in autograph letters, which I now hold in my hand. These names ought to secure attention on the part of politicians and practical men in public affairs to this instrument.

Who knows but that the next presidential election may turn upon one or two States, perhaps one or two cities? Who knows but that one hundred and ten thousand appointive offices being at stake, practised politicians inside the machine may not be willing to adopt such an instrument as this for the embarrassing of rascalities at the polls. I hear that publicists who are statesmen are in favour of this instrument, and that publicists who are mere party men are opposed to it, although they admit its efficacy—and on that very ground are shy of it. Let us be shy of politicians who are shy of Anti-Fraud Ballot-boxes. Somewhere and somehow there can be brought into existence by American ingenuity methods of largely purifying our ballot, and certainly the best instrument that I have seen for that purpose is the one now before you. Secrecy in voting is promoted by making all ballots alike in form and complexion, as they are intended to be when used with this instrument. After the ballots have been dropped into the box, and when they hang there on the long hook, you cannot tell one vote from another unless you are near enough to read the print, and that is out of sight, as the



## *BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR,*

ballot is voted face downwards. Secrecy is maintained in this way very effectually. I do not know what more I need say concerning this machine, except that it costs only fifteen dollars. I have no interest in the financial results of the patent.

It is worth while to give time to the counting of votes, and you therefore ought not to object that the votes in this ballot-box cannot be counted until after the closing of the polls. A slight change in the construction of the instrument would remove this objection. A box of this size will hold as many votes as are usually cast in a precinct in New York City. It cannot be denied that great mistakes are made sometimes in counting votes by honest but careless and hurried officials. You had better wait an hour or two longer and have your return authentic. It would be no objection to this machine if it were to take, as it does not, more time than the old way, for it saves time at the other end of the process, when investigating committees are needed to ascertain whether fraud has occurred or not. State Legislatures and Congress ought to examine carefully and promptly, and adopt this brilliant invention for embarrassing and annulling fraud in elections.

A ballot fairly counted will be efficient, but not sufficient to save universal suffrage from wreck. We must have an intelligent ballot, and for the purpose of securing proper knowledge on the part of the voter, I for one am in favour of a reading test. I would not take the vote away from any man who has it now, but I would adopt the advice of our late Chief Executive ; I would open the doors of the common school and make the approach to them an inclined plane strewn with roses ; and then I would proclaim by public law, not that the ballot shall be taken from any one who has it to-day, but that all who are born after a certain date, say 1900 or 1925, and do not learn to read and write, shall not have a vote until they do learn. Even with the ballot fairly counted, and with the ballot intelligent, I should not have hope for the republic unless it were possible to secure a ballot independent of the machine in party politics. But even with the ballot fairly counted and intelligent and independent, I should not have hope for universal suffrage were the ballot not made full.

What do I mean by a full ballot? The State of Missouri lately had a proposal brought before its legislature to the effect that every man who neglects to vote for two or three years should lose the right of suffrage. Theodore Woolsey tells us that in our colonial days there were portions of New England in which votes were sent to householders, and if they did not use them they were fined. Over and over I have called attention to the red cord used at Athens to drive men to the polls. A rope chalked red was carried by two men along the market-place and through the most crowded streets, and thus the voters were driven up to the voting assemblies before the bema of Demosthenes and Pericles ; and if any man received on his toga a mark of this red cord, he was fined. We have compulsory jury service, compulsory education, compulsory military enlistment, and we must have compulsory voting. If in some way we can secure a full vote in the United States, we shall be amazed at the difference between a torpid and an aroused America—between a fragment of our suffrage and the whole of it. I am not a female suffragist ; but in order to have a full vote, I am willing to try the experiment of giving women the ballot on questions of local option under the temperance laws. The Massachusetts State House dome looked lately on a most suggestive scene. It was my fortune last year, in this lectureship, to venture much before Conservative opinion by defending woman's right to vote in cases of local option in temperance. I was asked to defend the same cause before a committee in the Green Room at the State House, and I remember what a thin and sorry company

### *THE SUPERHUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL.*

came together on that occasion. The topic was somewhat new; we were all in danger of being called erratics. Last week the chief legislative hall under your dome was not large enough to admit those who assembled at noon to listen to the urging of the appeal for woman's temperance vote. The cause has gone forward, and it has gone now, I think, into such a position that even Conservative sneers will not greatly injure it. My hope is that in Massachusetts, before five years shall end, the experiment will be tried of making a vote full by giving woman a right to utter her voice at the polls for home protection against the Whiskey-Ring.

A full ballot, an intelligent ballot, a ballot independent of political partizanship, a ballot fairly counted—these reforms and nothing less will prevent Republican Governments under universal suffrage from perishing off the face of the earth! Machinery to embarrass rascality may be efficient, but let us remember that only the uprooting of rascality itself will be sufficient to save our Republic. It is fitting that on this birthday of Washington we should teach ourselves to depend upon nothing for the salvation of the nation except on character like his, diffused through the masses of the population, and holding all tricksters in awe. I stood, in a moment of leisure, in Independence Hall in Philadelphia one morning when the sunlight flooded the place, and I came suddenly upon a cast of Washington's face taken just after his death. The likeness was different from any I had ever seen, and probably much more authentic. What breadth of forehead, what balance of organization, what massiveness, and yet what sensitiveness! What equilibrium of soul, what force, what calmness, what integrity, what unflinching and unfathomable genuineness were in every line of that countenance! The repose of the whole expression was to me more moving than I had supposed it possible for any traits of even a living face to be to me. The transfigured, heroic, almost classical, perfectly honest countenance, was an inspiration and a benediction, because it was a biography. Let the character of Washington be the character of the nation, and the Republic may justly contemplate the future with confidence; otherwise not. Let Lincoln and Washington lock their mighty palms, as a deadly and unapologetic garrote, around the neck of the current and crescent scoundrelism which undermines the purity of our ballot-boxes; and government of the people, for the people and by the people, will not perish from the earth!

### *THE LECTURE.*

If modern mysteries can be scientifically explained and exposed, why may not ancient be, and even the Christian miracles? Let clear thought prevail, you say, even if Christianity and the heavens fall; and so say I. Whatever explanation we adopt concerning modern mysteries, will ultimately be carried through ancient; and whatever we adopt concerning ancient, will ultimately be carried through modern. The world is all of one piece. There is a Greek fable which represents two strutting fowls, sons of the same mother, as fighting. One cock called in a fox to aid him, and crowed while his competitor was being devoured. He afterward suffered the same fate. Christianity and what is called spiritism are more or less in

*BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR,*

conflict; and certain defenders of Christianity summon to their aid the fox, called atheistic materialism. He devours spiritism. What will he do next? Let him do what he can, I say; and in order to convince you that I am sincere, I purpose to venture this morning into a more intricate discussion than I have yet had the honour to present to this assembly; and I beg you not to judge the building while the scaffolding is up. Wait till you see the whole line of thought before you judge any portion of it.

The average mood of the public mind as to Spiritualism is represented by these propositions:—

1. If spirits do communicate with men, their action is outside of natural law, and must imply the use of supernatural power.

2. But the Bible was authenticated by actions outside natural law, and by the use of supernatural power.

3. It is admitted that such power may authenticate a revelation; and it is thence vaguely inferred that the communications from spirits may be placed upon an equality of authority with the Bible, rival or supersede Christianity, and introduce a new religious era. This is the claim of advanced Spiritualists themselves.

4. In view of the atrocious character of many of the teachings of Spiritualism, those who revere the morality of the Bible are shocked at the bare suggestion of revelations from spirits, and rebel against the admission of the fact with the vehemence of outraged religious feeling.

5. It is hence, in many cases, difficult to obtain an unprejudiced hearing for the evidence as to the alleged supernatural facts of Spiritualism. The misconceptions contained in these propositions have produced an immense effect upon the popular mind, and even upon Christian educated sentiment.\*

Now, in earnest and unapologetic opposition to this popular view of Spiritualism, I hold:—

1. That there are no supernatural, but only superhuman, events in modern spiritualistic phenomena, even granting the extreme claims made as to their reality.

2. That the Bible is authenticated by strictly supernatural, and not merely by superhuman, events.

3. That a just distinction between the *strictly supernatural* and the *merely superhuman* ought to destroy in Christians the fear, and

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\* See "The Philosophy of Spirits as taught by the harmonious and concurrent testimony of Scripture and Nature," by James Brown, New York. 1862, perhaps the most valuable work on Spiritualism that has been published in the United States.

### THE SUPERHUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL.

in Spiritualists the hope, that the alleged Spiritualistic communications are to be the basis of a new revelation, vindicating its own trustworthiness as a source of religious knowledge.

Pardon me if I pause here to bring before you an object-lesson. Here is a desk in Andover Theological Seminary. One student sits in front of it, resting his head upon his right hand, another sits behind, resting his head upon his left hand. A prayer-meeting is in progress. I knew both of the students. One of them is now an author of excellent repute, although he is yet a young man; the other is a revered minister of this State, and from him I have a letter:—

In answer to your request, permit me to say that I had strange experience one evening at Andover. While attending my class prayer-meeting, separated from me by a desk, sat a classmate, now somewhat noted in the line of authorship. His right arm leaned on the desk. My left arm was placed on the same desk. Our heads almost touched. The topic of the evening was one upon which I had thought but little; but while the leader was speaking thoughts arranged in an orderly manner, and embodied in choice language, rushed into my mind. I was greatly surprised at a few peculiar expressions, and at one or two fine illustrations which occurred to me, because I did not remember having ever read or heard them before. Gratified as well as amazed at the sudden illumination of my mind, and fearful that the departure of thought, expression, and illustration might be as hasty as their coming, I rose to my feet as soon as the leader had thrown the meeting open. Noticing that my gifted neighbour had also risen, I yielded to him. Judge of my astonishment, when, even to the use of the peculiar expressions and illustrations, he gave the speech which I was about to make.

I found afterwards that he had been studying the subject announced and discussed by the leader, and had promised to support him at the meeting. Undoubtedly, by some means which I will not attempt to explain, I had read or obtained my classmate's thoughts. Fortunately, or unfortunately, I was prevented from exposing my stolen goods. Certainly, I absorbed a speech which had not been written or spoken. I was guilty of a new kind of plagiarism. The experience related is not a fact of the imagination, but such as was *real* to me.

I beg you to fasten attention on this elementary but vastly suggestive object-lesson. Notice two great facts: First, that here was a transmission, not only of ideas, but of the order of ideas, and not only of ideas and their order, but of language and illustrations, without any effort to transmit them on the part of the person who originated them. Second, that here was a reception of ideas in a particular order, and with particular illustrations and language, without any effort on the part of the recipient. It is an interesting question whether the transmission would have occurred if the students had

*BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR,*

been twenty feet apart; but the fact is, that here, thoughts having only a mental expression, were transmitted from one spirit to another. I undertake to say that if that occurred it was not supernatural; it was natural. I am not assuming that these facts occurred, but here is such evidence as I have. The point upon which I wish to place emphasis, is, that if such facts occurred they are natural, and not superhuman; they are even human in this case. But suppose that instead of a fellow-student at the side of this leaning worshipper, there had been in the air some disembodied spirit, good or evil, and the transmission of thought had taken place between the spirit and the mind of the listener. Perhaps the thought would have come into his mind as it came in this case, without his knowing whence it came. This transmission of thought would not have been supernatural. It would have been natural, I maintain. It would be superhuman; but it would be an action performed according to laws of the human spirit as it now exists here in the flesh.

Now, admitting that the details of this object-lesson are realities, why may I not inquire whether something of the method of inspiration is not suggested to us by facts like these? You wish to know whether the Bible is anywhere verbally inspired. If one human spirit can thus communicate with another, cannot the Infinite Spirit give language as well as thought to a man inspired to teach in His name? I know on what sacred ground I am treading. I notice the silence of this house. We have never been more truly in the holy of holies than we are at this moment, and we stand on ground where no mistake can be so small as not to be colossal. I am no Spiritualist. I am willing, however, to study all the laws of the human mind. If at the bottom of all the seething, chaotic sea of the modern discussion of the relation of the natural to the supernatural, we are to find the firm adamant of the Biblical view of the world, why, I say, let me sink for once through this surging, foaming, yeasty sea, till I feel that there is at the bottom, not a whirlpool of endless depth, but the very same granite on which we walk, as we pace the safe shore of the ocean—the granite of the Biblical view of the universe!

In support of the three propositions on which I have now placed emphasis by an object-lesson, I beg leave to insist on the following definitions, distinctions, and inferences:

1. Nature does not mean all that is, but only all that is *natus*, born, produced, or created. The etymology of the word shows the correctness of this definition. Nature includes all but God.

2. The universe does include all that is. It is a great error of

### THE SUPERHUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL.

Huxley's to make no distinction between nature and the universe.\* If nature means as Huxley defines it, all that is, then it results, from the definition itself, that there can be no supernatural act performed. There can be nothing above or outside of *all that is*, and so there can be nothing supernatural. This definition was intended to support an anti-supernaturalistic philosophy, or else was the result of philosophical incompetence. It violates established usage, etymology, and all reputable philosophical authority, according to which, for two thousand years, a great distinction has been made between God and nature, and, therefore, between nature and the universe. In the former God is not, and in the latter He is included.

3. The laws of nature are to be distinguished from the laws of the universe.

4. A supernatural act is a violation of the former and not of the latter.

5. All created beings, human and superhuman, are a part of nature, strictly so called; that is, of what is *natus*, born, produced or created. If Satan exists—and I do not mean to cast any doubt on the literal accuracy of the passage in the Lord's Prayer, which directs us to pray to be delivered, not from evil, but from the evil one—that, as Tholuck says, is the true translation—he is a created being. He cannot personally attend to all the affairs of his kingdom, if he has one. John Milton's conception of Satan is strictly Biblical, and the average popular idea is not. Satan may be possessed of great power, but he is not possessed of omnipotence, nor of omnipresence; he must employ subordinates if he is to make, at one and the same time, in all parts of the earth, an infernal campaign; and the Bible says he does employ them. "Beelzebub the prince of the devils," is his Scriptural name. It is the overawing affirmation of Scripture that we wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the prince of the power of the air, against the ruler of the darkness of this world, against wicked spirits in heavenly places. If spiritualistic communications are realities, science is commencing to fathom the depth of these terrific words. You will recognize in this distinction between nature and the universe a purpose on my part to show that, however great may be the powers of the evil spirits, even of their princes, they are finite.

6. *As a part of nature, all created beings, human and superhuman, are subject to natural law; and from the very fact that they are natural beings, it results that they cannot do supernatural acts.*

7. A supernatural act involves a power above nature, that is,

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\* See Huxley's "Hume."

*BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR,*

above what is *natus*, born, or created ; in other words, a supernatural act involves creative power.

8. Only God, who is the only being above nature, can perform a supernatural act, that is, an act above natural law. Spirits, if they exist, are created beings, and, as a part of nature, are subject to natural law, and can do no strictly supernatural act involving creative power. If any such act appears to be performed by a spirit, the power is given from the source of all creative power. If the apostles performed supernatural acts, they did so by Divine power. Nothing is more notable in the Biblical account of miracles, than that those who worked them claimed that they did not do so by their own might nor in their own name.

9. Natural acts may be of the human or of the superhuman order.

10. *Spiritual communications, if they occur, are natural acts of the superhuman order, and not supernatural acts.*

11. *As such they cannot compete with the truly supernatural acts recorded in the Bible, as attestations of a revelation.*

12. The Bible is attested by acts of creative power, such as, from the necessity of things, must be above nature and can belong only to God Himself.

Instances of such creative power are found in the raising of the dead, and various others of the Christian miracles, and in all true prophecy as distinguished from mere prescience or prevision.

13. The argument of the Christian evidences rests on the strictly supernatural: that of the evidences of Spiritualism on the merely superhuman, even granting, as I do not, the claims of the latter.

14. The Christian evidences are supremely confirmed by the fact that Christianity works well; its divine character is proved by its fruits.

15. The evidences of Spiritualism are supremely discredited by the fact that it works ill; its evil character is seen by its fruits.

I know what I venture in my next proposition; but it is not the custom, I hope, of any one who reveres the scientific method to avoid unpopular issues.

16. If Swedenborgianism, for example, be taken as a system of belief attested by the most remarkable communications known to modern history, between men and spirits, it must yet be said that, granting all these claims for the sake of argument, Swedenborgianism is attested as a divine revelation only by merely superhuman, and not by strictly supernatural, acts.

Where is the raising of the dead, where are the miracles involving creative power, where are the prophecies that give to Swedenborgianism anything like the authority belonging to Christianity?

### *THE SUPERHUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL.*

Swedenborgianism is discredited also by the indisputable fact that portions of Swedenborg's inculcations as to social life, marriage, and the family, are contrary to natural morality, and would work incalculable mischief if put into practice (as, I beg you to notice, they rarely or never are even by Swedenborgians themselves). Here and now I am attacking no living Swedenborgian, but simply Swedenborg himself. I have been corresponding with the foremost Swedenborgian Society of London of late, and have received from it a voluminous mass of laboured but utterly inconclusive manuscript in support of the proposition that there is nothing contrary to natural morality in Swedenborg's famous writings on marriage. I have replied in writing, and if the correspondence is ever published, I shall be willing to stand on it as a justification of this criticism of one portion of Swedenborg's social code.

17. Attested by strictly supernatural events, and especially by its fruits, Christianity needs no further support; and yet its teachings concerning good and evil spirits, provided the claims of Spiritualism as to modern communications with spirits are ever sustained, would be illustrated and confirmed by modern evidence.

18. Two points are in debate concerning Spiritualism—the reality of communications between spirits and men, and the trustworthiness of these communications as a source of religious knowledge.

19. Between atheistic materialism and Spiritualism, the question is concerning the reality of the communications.

20. But between Christianity and Spiritualism the question is chiefly concerning their trustworthiness.

21. The Biblical view of the world admits the reality of good and evil spirits, and that they may and do influence men. If this view should be confirmed by modern facts, the Christian believer would have nothing to change in his creed as to the reality of spiritual communications.

22. The trustworthiness of those communications, however, he would be authorized to test by the Biblical rules of evidence, and by the scientific conditions of credence, as to all asserted revelations.

23. The great error of our time in dealing with Spiritualism, is that we do not sufficiently emphasize the fact that the question between the Biblical view and the Spiritualistic view of the world, is not as to the reality of communications of spirits with men, but as to their trustworthiness.

It is known from Biblical evidence that for thousands of years communications occurred between men and spirits, and that false religions were often founded upon the teachings of those who are said to have had familiar spirits.



*BIBLICAL AND CLASSICAL DEMONOLOGY; OR,*

Joseph Smith, the founder of Mormonism, had in his experiences certain peculiar psychical events, which he thought supernatural. He affirms that he saw a man, with whom he prayed, lifted into the air. Visions and whisperings came to the young Smith, and he gave himself entirely to their guidance.\* He regarded them as divine, although they were evidently of the same character with the lying communications said to be common in our day in Spiritualistic circles. I do not assert on modern evidence that evil spirits have communicated with the founders of evil religions. The Bible gives me authority to say that they did in ancient times; they may, therefore, have done so in modern. If you regard the facts which Smith mistook for miracles, as only superhuman actions of familiar spirits, you will have at once a philosophically and an historically adequate explanation of the origin of the very basis of Mormonism. You will not be surprised to find that similar experiences were behind Mahomet's career. I do not know that there is on the globe to-day a single false religion that does not appeal as a proof of the divinity of its communications to phenomena similar to those observed in our Spiritualistic circles. There was not in antiquity a single false religion that did not appeal for authority to what the Bible calls familiar spirits, as the source of its confidence that a revelation had been given to it.

"Regard not them that have familiar spirits."† The perils against which those words were a warning are not unknown to modern times. "A man or woman that hath a familiar spirit shall be put to death." Do I mean to say we should adopt the Mosaic code on these points? There is a great difference between being assailed by evil spirits and not yielding to them; and, on the other hand, giving up to them, taking their will for your will, and their teachings as divine authority. It is this latter voluntary mental attitude of which the Bible speaks in thunderbolts. If I were at liberty to uncover the festering carcass of seventh-rate Spiritualism, I doubt whether you would think the Biblical severity of treatment of necromancy entirely uncalled for in modern days. Possession by spirits is treated with all pity in the Bible. It is distinguished from insanity. The language of the New Testament proves that lunatics and those possessed by evil spirits were regarded as two separate classes‡ The possessed are spoken of with all compassion in the Bible; but necromancy, or the giving up of the will to evil spirits, and taking their will as our will,—that is perhaps the most mischievous thing on earth!

\* See Stenhouse, "Rocky Mountain Saints." † Lev. xix. 31. ‡ See Delitzsch's full discussion of this point in his "Biblical Psychology."

### THE SUPERHUMAN NOT THE SUPERNATURAL.

Alone among all religions known to ancient ages, Christianity and the Old Testament, in terms lurid with the Divine wrath, denounce communications with familiar spirits, not on the ground of their unreality, but on that of their untrustworthiness, impurity, and tendencies to immeasurable practical mischief.

Natural law in one age of the world is natural law for all ages. The power of communicating with familiar spirits is known, on Biblical evidence, to have been a reality among men acting under natural law. *If Spiritualism turns out to be only a re-discovery of the ancient art of consulting familiar spirits, there is no necessity of denying the reality of such communication, but there is great necessity of proclaiming with Biblical emphasis, its untrustworthiness, mischievousness, and wickedness.*

24. It is historically known that Biblical revelations, although given through many different channels and in many different places, nations, and ages, were perfectly harmonious with each other, and were attested by such strictly supernatural events as to authenticate them to the world; and also that they have received supreme authentication from the Biblical rule of evidence,—“By their fruits ye shall know them.”

25. It is to be inferred, therefore, that if good spirits communicate revelations in modern times, they will be in harmony not only with each other, but with former revelations, and will be attested by strictly supernatural events, and will bear the test of being judged by their fruits in the course of experience through ages.

If modern Spiritualistic communications are real, they must be judged by the attested Biblical view of the world; and when such tests as Christianity and science both require to be applied to the case are used, the evidence shows that there is nothing supernatural in Spiritualism, but that there is in it something superhuman, and yet that as such it acquires no trustworthiness, but is merely a re-discovery of the ancient art of consulting familiar spirits.

26. In relation to atheistic materialism, Spiritualistic facts are of great importance, however, for they bring into view a new world in philosophy and a new world in religion.

27. The philosophical and religious world, so new to atheism and materialism as irretrievably to explode them both, turns out to be a Biblical world.

We may, therefore, say with Lord Brougham, “In the most cloudless azure of scepticism, I see a rain-cloud no bigger than a man’s hand. It is the modern evidence of the superhuman.”

## TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR, A NEW WORLD IN PHILOSOPHY.

### THE PRELUDE.—RECENT DESERTIONS FROM DARWINISM.

It appears to be wholly impossible to turn God out of the universe in the name of exact science. Supernaturalism is pushed to the front even by the merely physical investigations of this latest and oldest of the centuries. Materialism is suffering many desertions, and of course this means that the extreme form of the doctrine of evolution is being abandoned by sober naturalists. It was fashionable a few years ago, in certain crude Spencerian circles, to boast of the triumph of Darwinism;\* but there are essential parts of Darwinism which are being silently modified or abandoned. Virchow of Berlin, Allman of the British Association, Dana of New Haven, Wallace of England, and Gray of Harvard University, have all criticized Darwinism in such a way that the right hand of that system of thought, or the doctrine that natural selection is an adequate cause of the origin of species, is now a very limp and lame, I had almost said, a wholly severed, member. What is Darwinism? It is the hypothesis that the origin of species was effected chiefly by natural selection, or the survival of the fittest in the struggle of living things with each other. Professor Dana has lately been induced, by the superb enterprise of the New York *Independent*, the foremost religious newspaper of the United States, to speak very definitely on evolution. It is difficult to determine what any man thinks on evolution, unless he defines that word. Just as Americanism might mean twenty things in politics, so evolution may mean twenty things in physical science. There is an extreme doctrine of evolution which is materialistic; a medium doctrine which is agnostic; a conservative doctrine, which is somewhat theistic, although vaguely so; and then there is what I call an orthodox and evangelical doctrine of evolution,—a doctrine not *the* doctrine,—and which is pronouncedly theistic. That latter doctrine is Professor Dana's. As I have heretofore emphasized the criticisms made by Virchow and Allman on extreme doctrines in regard to evolution, so I think it my duty to emphasize also those of Dana. Omitting much, let me read, in his language, but not in his order of statement, some of the essential positions of this foremost of American men of science:

1. I am not a very vigorous supporter of evolution.
2. I believe that a creative act was necessary to the existence of man's body, or physical nature. Man's physical nature, as well as his spiritual, was not a product or educt of evolutionary processes. It demanded for its creation a divine act. For proof I refer, as done by Wallace, to the fact that the brain of the

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\* See Mr. John Fiske's article on "The Triumph of Darwinism," *North American Review*, 1877.

## TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS.

lowest race of men has twice the cubic contents of the highest man-ape; to the fact, further, that the skeleton of man is adapted throughout for a vertical position, and that of the ape for a horizontal or inclined, and that geology has discovered no human remains in the rocks that indicate a lower grade of man than now exists, or one that makes the first shade of approximation to the inclined structure of the ape, and also to the existence of a moral sense. *Some other power than Nature's was required for man's existence.*

3. The special means of change and progress by which it is supposed species may have been made from species, and the systems of life evolved, are not explained by any facts thus far ascertained, or by any theory of evolution. No system of causes has yet been proved to be adequate for the results.

The insufficiency of all environments and environment conditions, without some profounder means, is manifest.

The theory of natural selection is a theory of *selections*, and not of the *origin of species*.

The selective breeding exemplified in man, which it appeals to as a fundamental principle, can rarely take place under natural conditions, since Nature's methods are distributive, through the promiscuous breeding which, without man to direct, is almost sure to take place, and not selective.

The principle "survival of the fittest," explains in part, *survivals*, and thereby the geographical distribution of species, as seen in the faunas and floras of different countries, but nothing as to how the fittest came to be, or species to exist or become involved.

The theories of evolution which make progress mere *transformism*, as it has been designated, or a direct result of the pulling, shaping, or transforming action of environments, I regard as *based on a superficial view of Nature*.

These are most excellent and cheerful doctrines, but they are a very marked desertion of portions of Darwinism. They are, indeed, radical anti-Darwinian teaching; but there seems to be on the part of the *Popular Science Monthly*, and the representatives of the Cosmic Philosophy, a conspiracy of silence concerning Dana's positions. Having for years contended for these doctrines myself, my purpose this morning is to put his trumpet to the lips of this Lectureship, and let it be known that one of the foremost names in science is not dazzled by the philosophical materialism of Hackel, nor by the monism and agnosticism taught yet by Huxley and various belated Spencerian schools in regard to evolution.

4. *The introduction of life on the globe demanded divine intervention.* There may have been divine intervention, for all that science has to say on the subject, in other cases in the grand system of progress.

5. I, nevertheless, admit, in view of known facts as to the general geographical relations and distribution of species, whether of animals or plants, the transitional forms which have been found, especially between modern species and those of the geological age next preceding—many existing species of plants, for example, so graduating into kinds but little different, and others much different, in the Tertiary era, that botanists have found no way out of the apparent confusion thus introduced, except by means of the principle of the derivation of species from species—and in view also of other considerations arising out of the structural unity of forms, effects under the law of heredity, and the character and extent of actual or known variations in animals and plants, that, however inadequate the known agencies of change may seem to be, it is altogether probable that there have been natural causes at work which were sufficient for the development of the systems of life so far that there were few occasions for divine intervention.

Just here let me pause and prepare you for a surprise. If man's physical body originated through a divine act, did God create man out of dead matter, or from some other species of animal? It may be that the divine act was absolutely necessary, even if God created man from some lower animal by changing the

*TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR,*

development of that inferior creature. I understand Professor Dana to say that it is altogether probable that the divine act was performed in the second of these methods, and yet to deny entirely that man was produced as we may produce varieties of pigeons or of dogs, by controlling the current of generation and of hereditary descent.

6. Creation of species by divine *fiats* does not necessarily imply creation out of dead matter. *Creation of species from species would be as strictly creation by a divine act.* Of the two methods the latter would be, most probably, the true one, in view of the economy of action under God's laws. This holds for man as well as for all other species. The derivation of man from an inferior species need give the student of the Bible no trouble of mind, provided, in connection with it, a divine act is admitted to have been parent, both physically and spiritually, to the new creation.

Any comparison with regard to God's directing the current of generation as we can direct it in the case of dogs and pigeons, is a wholly false representation of the view I hold, and absurd also.

7. It is my belief that all results and conditions are reached through or in concurrence with molecular law; that the differences in germs, leading to their different modes of evolution and different adult forms, are some way expressed in their molecular constitution. The great lines of progress in the system of life, indicated by the divisions of classes and orders, I believe to have had their *foundation fixed in molecular law, under the divine will, and not to be a product or consequence of environment conditions.* I hold that in evolution there was truly an evolving; that beneath are molecular and physiological laws, whose action, external conditions, or the environments, were able to modify but not to control.

8. But with me this is wholly independent of the question whether evolution was carried forward by successive divine acts or by natural causes, after an initial *fiat*.

9. The modification which has taken place in my views as to evolution, has not been attended by any weakening of my faith in the Christian religion, or change of opinion as to its doctrines.

Nature and the Bible are one in their enunciations of the history of creation. They both contain conceptions infinitely beyond the reach of the human intellect, and bear alike evidence of their divine origin.

10. *Molecular law is law by divine act; and in conformity to that law, and through it, creation, whether by fiat or by natural growth, must have taken place.*

*All law is law by divine appointment, for a divine purpose. All force is the ever-active divine will.\**

Professor Gray, whose volume of "Darwiniana" pledges him to treat Darwinism as tenderly as possible, does not hesitate in his two recent lectures before the Yale Divinity school to criticize severely the doctrine of natural selection:

1. I am unable to perceive that the idea of the evolution of one species from another, and of all from an initial form of life, adds any new perplexity to theism.

2. Darwinism has real causes at its foundation, viz., the fact of variation and the inevitable operation of natural selection, determining the survival only of the fittest forms for the time and place. It is therefore a good hypothesis, so far. But is it a sufficient and a complete hypothesis? Does it furnish scientific explanation of (i.e., assign natural causes for) the rise of living forms from low to high, from simple to complex, from protoplasm to simple plant and animal, from fish to flesh, from lower animal to higher animal, from brute to man? Does it scientifically account for the formation of any organ, show that under

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\* These passages, except the paragraph at the end of the sixth section, which is from a letter of Professor Dana's to the Presbyterian *Banner*, are re-arranged from an article by him in the *Independent* of January 8, 1880.

## A NEW WORLD IN PHILOSOPHY.

given conditions sensitive eye-spot, initial hand or brain, or even a different hue or texture, must then and there be developed as the consequence of assignable conditions? Does it explain how and why so much, or any, sensitiveness, faculty of response by movement, perception, consciousness, intellect, is correlated with such and such an organism? I answer, Not at all! The hypothesis does none of these things. For my own part I can hardly conceive that any one should think that natural selection scientifically accounts for these phenomena.

3. Darwin may consistently speak of his favourite principle as a cause of evolution, it being that in the absence of which the evolution could not take effect. A cause of variation it certainly is not, but it is a necessary occasion of it, or of its progress.

4. What Darwinism maintains is that variation, which is the origination of small differences, and species-production, which represents somewhat larger differences, and genus-production, which represents still greater differences, are parts of a series, and differ only in degree, and therefore have common natural causes, whatever these may be; and that natural selection gives a clear conception of a way in which continually or occasionally arising small differences may be added up into large sums in the course of time. This is a legitimate and on the whole a good working hypothesis. The questionable point is whether the sum of the differences can be obtained from the individually small variations by simple addition. I very much doubt it. I doubt especially if simple addition is capable of congruously adding up such different denominations. That is, while I see how variations of a given organ or structure can be led on to great modification, I cannot conceive how non-existent organs come thus to be, how wholly new parts are initiated, how any thing can be led on which is not there to be taken hold of. Nor am I at all helped in this respect by being shown that the new organs are developed little by little.

Justly distinguishing between life and soul, Professor Gray now emphasizes views which Lionel Beale, so often defended here, promulgated ten years ago:

4. With all life goes duality. There is the matter, and there is the life, and we cannot get one out of the other, unless you define matter as something which works to ends. As all agree that reflected thought cannot be translated into terms of extension (matter and motion), nor the converse, so as truly it cannot be translated into terms of sensation and perception, of desire and affection, of even the feeblest vital response to external impressions, of simplest life. The duality runs through the whole. You cannot reasonably give over any part of the field to the monist, and retain the rest.

It was my fortune to be considered, if not erratic, at least credulous, when three years ago that very doctrine was insisted upon here, in the name not only of English and German thought, but of self-evident truth itself.

Extreme views as to the power of natural selection to account for the origin of classes, and sub-kingdoms, among animals, have lately been rebuked by Wallace himself in an article in the *Nineteenth Century*.

All objections, in so far as they refer to the origin of the different species of one genus from a common ancestral species, or even of all the species and genera of one family from some still more remote ancestor, may, I think, be shown to be invalid; because we have direct evidence, almost amounting to demonstration, that changes to this extent are producible, by the known laws of variation and the admitted action of natural selection. But when we go farther back, and propose to account for the origin of distinct families, orders, and classes of animals by the same process, the evidence becomes far less clear and decisive. We find groups with organs of which no rudiment exists in other groups; we find classes differing radically in structure from other classes; and we have no direct evidence that changes of this nature are now in progress, as we have that the lesser changes resulting in new species and new genera are in progress.

No thoughtful person can contemplate without amazement the phenomena presented by the development of animals. We see the most diverse forms—a mollusk, a frog, and a mammal—arising from apparently identical primitive cells,

## TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR,

and progressing for a time by very similar initial changes, but thereafter each pursuing its highly complex and often circuitous course of development, with unerring certainty, by means of laws and forces of which we are totally ignorant. It is surely a not improbable supposition, that the unknown power which determines and regulates this marvellous process, may also determine the initiation of those more important changes of structure, and those developments of new parts and organs, which characterize the successive stages of the evolution of animal forms. In so far as Mr. Darwin denies the necessity of any such power, and maintains that the origin of all the diverse forms and types, and all the complex structures of the organic world, are due to identically the same laws and processes as are adequate to produce the different species of *Rubus* or of *Canis*, from some ancestral bramble or dog respectively, his opponents have undoubtedly a case well worthy of being argued out in the courts of science.

The causes which have produced the separate species of one *genus*, of one *family*, or perhaps of one *order* from a common ancestor, are not necessarily the same as those which have produced the separate *orders*, *classes*, and *sub-kingdoms* from more remote common ancestors. While individual variation with natural selection is proved to be adequate for the production of the former, we have no proof and hardly any evidence that it is adequate to initiate those important divergencies of type which characterize the latter.

Translated into theological language, these cautious concessions of naturalists mean theism. They mean supernaturalism acting at the origin of life on our planet, and at the initiation of the variations which lead to the origin of species. They mean the Divine Omnipresence in all natural law. We may sum up the soundest conclusions of modern natural science, except only the voices of a few erratics, by using Emerson's latest declaration, itself an abandonment of any pantheistic tendencies which characterized his earlier career: "Nature is too thin a screen; the glory of the Omnipresent One breaks through everywhere." \*

## THE LECTURE.

PROFESSOR ZÖLLNER anticipates the second birth of German science and its thorough Christianization. His reasons for this hope, are that he thinks materialism is utterly exploded, and that the system of what he calls transcendental physics is sufficiently established to be already a basis of prophecy as to the future course of enlightened thought. You will remember under what disadvantages I often speak here, as your outlook committee over the realm of culture in the world. I am to gaze into the far horizon, and sometimes a cloud may easily be mistaken there for a mountain summit. I do not make myself responsible for Professor Zöllner's transcendental physics. It is my business here, however, to give the freshest outlook possible upon the very latest research, and you must judge for yourselves whether the low-lying vapour, irradiated by the sun, has been mistaken by this keen German telescope for the summit of mountains, or whether we have indeed come upon the confines of a new territory in philosophy, and a land on which the sun is never to

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\* Essay on "The Preacher," Unitarian Review, January, 1880.

*A NEW WORLD IN PHILOSOPHY.*

set. I beg you, however, to remember that from this point on I assume that whoever explains modern mysteries will explain ancient, and that whatever theory we adopt concerning ancient mysteries must also be adopted concerning modern. Let no man minify the issue. The whole question of the relation of the natural to the supernatural is at stake in the doctrine of transcendental physics.

There are four theories for the explanation of the modern and ancient psychical phenomena.

1. Fraud.
2. Nervous derangement.
3. The psychic force as exclusively controlled by men.
4. The psychic force as controlled by both men and spirits.

At the last analysis every one of the explanations offered in modern or ancient times may be reduced to one or the other of these heads, or to a combination of two or more of them.

In reply to the theory of fraud, what is to be said ?

1. The theory of trickery explains much, perhaps nine-tenths of the phenomena, but is applicable only by excessive straining to the winnowed residuum of evidence attested by Crookes, Wallace, Zöllner, and other scientific experts.

Here I hold in my hand the last number of the most creditable magazine in the country south of New York, *The Penn Monthly*. It contains a long article by Professor Robert Ellis Thompson on "Spiritualism in Germany." The tone of his discussion will be indicated if I cite to you but a single sentence: "When naturalists like Wallace and Max Perty,"—the latter is a professor at Berne in Switzerland,—"when chemists like Crookes and Hare, a physiologist like Weber, and physicists like Varley, Zöllner, and Fechner, mathematicians like De Morgan and Scheibner, to say nothing of metaphysicians like J. H. Fichte and Ulrici, unite in declaring that there is something in Spiritualism, the case for investigation becomes urgent. If the evidence of these ten men of science does not create a presumptive case in its favour, it does much more than justify a claim for a full hearing before the scientific world, and nothing but an unscientific and unfair prepossession can now prevent that hearing." \*

There is no leaning toward Spiritualism, so called, in this article, but the recent German experiments are spoken of with respect and candour.

2. Experts in legerdemain, such as Bellachini, Robert Houdin, Signor Blitz, and M. Hamilton and M. Rhys, have all given solemn

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\* *Penn Monthly*, Feb., 1880, p. 100.



*TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR,*

testimony--Bellachini gave an affidavit—that nothing in their art will account for the so-called psychical phenomena witnessed by themselves. The books on legerdemain offer no explanation of experiments like those of Crookes and Zöllner.

I have examined a pile of books on legerdemain as high as this chair, and I think no one familiar with that kind of literature will look into it to-day for any clear explanation of such phenomena as are described in the plates which I have had the honour to exhibit to you from the works of Zöllner.

In reply to the theory of nervous derangement, on what facts must we place emphasis?

1. Experts in nervous disease fail to offer any adequate explanation of the most significant of the phenomena.

It is one of my anxieties to observe all comity towards those who maintain an attitude of arrogance toward the investigations of Crookes, Wallace, Zöllner and Weber, on the psychic force. I will mention no names; but I may say that I have personally offered the foremost exposé of Spiritualism on this continent, and one of the acutest students of nervous diseases America has produced, one hundred dollars an hour to repeat the experiments of Zöllner, Fechner, and Weber before this audience, and explain them by causes known to science, and he confessed his inability to do so, or to obtain for me, at any price, any one who could.

A very acute pamphlet, a highly valuable monograph on "The Scientific Basis of Delusions," was written by the gentleman of whom I am speaking. He was my room-mate at Yale College. We are excellent friends, I hope; and I think we shall always be such. I rejoice in his distinguished career. I do not know that he accuses me of extravagance at all in my claims as to psychical phenomena, for all I say is "if." I do not care what theory goes up or what goes down. I wish to know what is true, and care only for facts. If I could have obtained the services of this eminent expert, I would, if possible, have placed him and Slade on this platform, and have matched them against each other. What does this exposé of Spiritualism think of Slade? This is what the former has published:

No delusion of history, not even astrology, has been more completely elucidated by science than has spiritism; of no one of its facts or phenomena can it now be admitted that it is even mysterious.\*

In England, Dr. Carpenter, who has laboured so hard, and in some respects so successfully, in this department of science, is yet so

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\* *North American Review*, July, 1879, "The Psychology of Spiritism," p. 75.

far out of the way as to concede the possibility of thought-reading; and admits that he could not see through the very cheap, and coarse, and transparent trickery of Slade, which any man can do who has two hands, a limited audience of scientific non-experts, and a conscience sufficiently seared.\*

Offered an opportunity to make these proud words good with a reading audience of half a million people, this expert confesses his inability to justify his own assertions. I placed Zöllner's books on a table in my room in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, in New York, received a call from this eminent specialist in nervous disease, showed him Zöllner's descriptive plates, which he had not seen before, explained to him what is alleged to have been done at Leipzig under the eyes of these experts, and implored him if anything in the range of his knowledge could explode the theories which Zöllner and Weber and Fichte were building on these facts, to come to Boston and explode them. I offered him almost any price to appear here. I did so in writing; and the most this foremost of American experts could say was, that the tricks of legerdemain are very wonderful; that the German professors at Leipzig were perhaps deceived; that no one knows by their testimony what occurred at their sittings; and that the true theory of trance explains many delusions. Who knows but that these professors, by mere expectancy, were thrown into an abnormal state, and did not know what happened? As Professor Hammond said of Lord Lindsay, so we may say of Zöllner: "His cravat may have been too tight." Serious men are not easily converted to the cravat philosophy, especially when the latter refuses to attest itself by experiment.

The great modern specialists in nervous diseases I speak of with the utmost respect. The author I am discussing, explains psychical phenomena by a new theory of trance. He is to be held to an exact account of himself in his definitions. He opens his brilliant monograph on trance, by saying that, "among more or less incorrect and meaningless terms which either superstition or science has applied" to the phenomena he intends to discuss, he "may specify, as especially prominent, somnambulism, artificial and spontaneous, mesmerism, animal magnetism, hypnotism, Braidism, catalepsy, ecstasy, and biology." Notice that he calls some of those terms incorrect and others meaningless. What is his definition of trance? It is "the real phenomena represented or suggested by the above mentioned terms" (p. 2). Is not that a precise definition? A really distinct definition of trance is nowhere to be found in this pamphlet.

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\* "A New Theory of Trance," p. 42.

*TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR,*

The definition seems to be left purposely broad and vague. Its chief quality is its amorphous comprehensiveness. That trait possesses a certain strategic serviceability. The undefined definition of trance can be thrown out as a cuttle-fish throws out a dark cloud into the ocean, to blind the fish it attacks.

But this specialist's definition of what may excite trance is another cuttle-fish cloud.

It matters not what is done to induce this state, nor who does it, nor in what way, provided the brain be in a condition to enter it,—physiologically or pathologically prepared for it; there is not a fact, or shape, or influence, or phenomenon, real or professed on earth, in the air or sky, that may not act as an exciting cause.

The very possibility, or profession, or fear, or desire, or suspicion, of supernatural, of marvellous, of mysterious, of unusual, or even out-of-the-way mundane phenomena, may excite instantly, or within but a few moments, in one psychologically or pathologically predisposed, the state of trance, with its distinctive group of physical and psychical symptoms. Suspense is the strongest of human emotions, and in an ordinary *séance* the emotions are kept in constant suspense.

In trance, man becomes an automaton; the co-ordinated action of the faculties that are called the will is displaced by a series of mental and muscular movements as purely automatic as the beating of the heart or the opening of a flower. In this state objective and subjective become confounded: there is, indeed, no true objective life; the brain absolutely creating objects, persons, experiences, or mutilating and transforming all impressions made upon it, according to what is repeated, or desired, or apprehended—the eye seeing what it looks for, the ear hearing what it wishes or fears.

Modern Spiritism is a tripod: its three supports being trance, the involuntary life, and human testimony.\*

Join the first definition to the second, and the theory is ready for use. Its portentousness results from its vagueness.

In other fields, and even in that of exposures of psychical frauds, this author has done some of the best work of our generation. But when I find a definition so utterly vague prefacing a monograph of such scientific dignity as this, I feel that I have a right to ask for a little closer application of the method of science. A few extracts will indicate the scope of the theory of this acute author:

The theory of the nature of a trance which I have to offer, is that *it is a functional disease of the nervous system, in which the cerebral activity is concentrated in some limited region of the brain, with suspension of the activity of the rest of the brain, and consequent loss of volition.*

With this hypothesis of the pathology of trance before my mind,

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\* *North American Review*, July, 1879, pp. 66, 68.

## A NEW WORLD IN PHILOSOPHY.

I have been accustomed to illustrate the difference between ordinary sleep trance and death, by pointing to a chandelier of gas-burners. When all the burners of the chandelier are fully lighted, that is the normal waking state; when all of the burners are turned down low, but not turned out entirely, as usually is the case in public halls, before the opening of entertainments, that is ordinary sleep; if I turn out entirely all the burners except one, and that one, as often happens, flames all the more brightly from increased pressure, that is trance; if all the burners are turned out entirely and permanently, that is death. The only hold on life which the deeply entranced person has, is through the activity of a limited region of the brain, through which feeble movements of the heart are sustained, the body being, in other respects, motionless.

The exaltation of the physical and psychical faculties in trance cannot be questioned, but is readily demonstrated; and by this hypothesis receives an expression that is both lucid and complete.

Representing, for the sake of comparison, the quantity of cerebral force in all parts of the brain by one hundred: if the activity of three-fourths of the brain is suspended, then the remaining one-fourth may be four-fold more active than when in the normal state.

These exaltations of the normal senses are the bases of many of the popular and professional delusions relating to "second sights," "clairvoyance," "thought-reading," and the like.

Convulsive movements in trance, as in hysteria and epilepsy, belong to the lighter phases, or to the coming in and going out of the attack; in the deeper stages the muscles are motionless.

This hypothesis accounts for the illusions and hallucinations of trance.

*What Mr. Crookes and his associates did, or tried to do, with the medium Home, will, in this world, never be known.*

No wonder this expert concludes by himself admitting that if lawyers are to embrace his suggestions in full, "they must throw overboard the principles of evidence as taught, not only in books and schools of law, but in all our courses in logic and metaphysics, and in our colleges and schools everywhere."\* The theory thus finds its undoing in overdoing.

Keep the eyes open, even if the eyeballs be seared. Do not abandon in the field of the psychical phenomena the rules of logic by which you proceed before juries in cases of life and death, and by which all science in other departments has been built up.

2. The acutest and best trained reformed Spiritualists fail to explain the German experiments.

3. Time fails to explain them, for fifty years have passed since similar facts of mesmerism and animal magnetism began to attract

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\* "Theory of Trance," p. 40.

### *TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR,*

scientific attention, and thousands of years have gone by since they first became known to history, but no adequate and natural explanation of the winnowed residuum of evidence concerning them has yet been given.

The real stress of the conflict, therefore, is between the third and the fourth theory. It is asserted, on the one hand, that a psychic power wholly controlled by man may produce the so-called spiritualistic phenomena; and on the other hand, the pretence is set up that the psychic power must be controlled by spirits outside of the flesh, otherwise a certain portion of the observed facts cannot be adequately explained. Let us now slowly approach these two theories, and endeavour to distinguish between them.

1. The causes of change in the condition and attributes of matter may be subdivided into four distinct species:—

(1) Mechanism or physical causation in its narrowest sense controlling all change in organic matter.

(2) Stimulation, as seen in the growth of plants and all vegetative functions.

(3) Motivation, controlling from a distance by external inducements the actions of animals and men.

(4) Volition, or the movement of matter in the individual organism by the control of the will operating directly upon it.

It is very important to insist on these distinctions, for mechanism and stimulation differ. The latter cannot be put into the same class with merely physical causes, without violating the law of proportionality between cause and effect. Stimulate one speck of germinal matter and it rises into an oak; another, and it rises into a pine; another, and it becomes a lion; another, and it becomes a man.

Mechanism and motivation differ, since the latter operates from any distance, and only through the intervention of knowledge.\*

2. The doctrine that living organizations are mere automata, and that all the movements and changes taking place in them are capable of explanation on exclusively mechanical principles, is therefore wholly unfounded.

3. As in the human body the movements of matter cannot be completely explained without the use of these four causes, so in the universe at large, the movements of matter cannot be explained except by the use of the four causes,—mechanism, stimulation, motivation, and volition.

Professor Zöllner has nowhere formulated these principles. I have been obliged to gather them up from many sources, but they are the

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\* See Bowen's "Modern Philosophy," pp. 291, 292.

## A NEW WORLD IN PHILOSOPHY.

fundamental propositions of what he calls Transcendental Physics. In my body volition moves matter. Who knows, but that in certain circumstances, matter outside of the body may be moved as matter inside of the body is? The great fact is, that somewhere and somehow the body does move under the influence of volition. That is the clue to many mysteries, the one point of light which will guide us through this tangle of research.

When the mechanical theory of matter is once wholly discredited and exploded, it becomes at least philosophically credible that movements of matter may occur outside the body, as well as within it, by volition.

The will does govern forces which cause muscular movement. Who can deny that, if will, either in man or spirits, can be brought into as close contact with matter out of the body as it is with matter in the body, the former as well as the latter may be moved at will?

4. Gravity and magnetism operate from a distance, although with an intensity proportioned to nearness. They move matter without contact with it.

5. The English, German, and American investigations of the psychic force have resulted in the claim, that mind can move matter without contact by controlling, consciously or unconsciously, a natural power whose action accords with mental states.

Certain actions of my arm follow my will and accord with mental states. I do not know what the essence of the power is by which I lift my arm, but I believe that the arm, so far as it is matter, no more moves itself than it thinks. When what is called will leaves my body, this motion ceases for ever. There is reason to say with Huxley, that the will counts for something as a cause. If there is any way to bring the will into contact with other masses of matter than those contained in the body, it ought not to be altogether incredible to us that the will may produce motion in the former objects, as well as in the latter. If apparent evidence exists of the fact, it is not to be refused examination as philosophically incredible.

6. There is much *prima facie* evidence to sustain the claim that matter can be moved without physical contact.

Notice the distinction here made between *prima facie* and scientific evidence.

7. There is much *prima facie* evidence that mind may act on mind at a distance.

Here is the best book in the world on "Animal Magnetism," a famous volume by the late Dr. Gregory, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Edinburgh. On the basis of such experiments as

### TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR,

are mentioned in this book, Sir William Hamilton I suppose would have granted to me the proposition that the silent thought and will of one person can control the thoughts of another. It is asserted that by looking at a bright object near the eyes, a person may throw himself into a magnetic sleep, and it is now thought there is no influence rayed off from the mesmeric operator upon the mesmeric subject, for the sleep may be produced by merely looking at a bright object. The passes are useful only in producing expectancy. In the higher scientific quarters, the theory is given up that any peculiar influence is rayed off from the operator to the subject.\* Nevertheless when the subject has come under the power of the operator, it is admitted that the thoughts of the former are largely under the control of the latter, and may be controlled at a distance. In the object-lesson I had the honour of putting before you last Monday, we had an instance of the unconscious control of the thought of one student by that of another.

Professor Thompson, with all his caution, deliberately makes this concession :—

There certainly are persons who by direct exercise of will can move material objects which they are not touching, and who, without the intervention of words and signs, can master any piece of knowledge which is in the mind of any person in their company.†

Movement of matter without contact! The control of thought at a distance! I beg you to notice that these are the Malakoff and Redan of the whole subject of the relations of the natural to the supernatural.

8. Grant me that unexpressed thought may control thought across space, and that matter may be moved by will without physical contact, and you have granted me enough to make explicable, I had almost said every wonder of ancient or modern times in the field of psychical phenomena.

(1) Audible raps are produced at will by some psychics, as, for example, by Mdme. Blavatsky in the presence of Dr. Wyld of Edinburgh, and their statement is that the sounds are produced by something analogous to electric explosions, proceeding from the fingers or other parts of the body, in obedience to the will.

(2) It is but a step further to suppose that this peculiar polar force which explodes from the finger-tips, and is under the control of the will in producing sounds in objects near at hand, may, at a larger distance from the body, be under the control of the will.

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\* See Carpenter, "Human Physiology," in passages on Dr. Braid's experiments as to Hypnotism.

† *Penn Monthly*, February, 1880, p. 116.

### *A NEW WORLD IN PHILOSOPHY.*

(3) It is but a step further to move tables and articles of furniture through the operation of this psychic power.

What is there you cannot explain by such psychic force? I do not compare its influence to that of electricity, for we do not know of any refined form of magnetism or electricity that is like it. Its great peculiarity is that it acts in accordance with mental states. There is such a force inside the body. The force that lifts my arm accords with a mental state. I know that. But now if, in some way, I can get possession of a psychic force outside of my organization, and make the force accord with mental states, what can I not produce?

(4) It is but one step further to produce abnormal writing in closed spaces.

(5) It is only another step in the control of mind over matter, without contact, to produce from the particles of matter floating in the atmosphere materialized hands, not as a vision, but as a tangible reality.

The German professors assure the scientific world that they put a vase filled with flour under a table; that they requested the hand which had appeared under the table to dip itself into the flour; and that they afterwards saw and measured the impression of the hand in the flour, and found flour on their knees, but no flour on the hands of the psychic, which had been constantly in sight. That is a fact astounding enough to make the hair to stand on end; but, after all, if there is a psychic force according with mental states, who knows, but that the psychic produced the hand and dictated all that it did?

(6) If hands can be produced, it is but another step to produce the semblance of the entire human body, and to cause this to personate some departed human being. Of course the semblance of clothing can be produced if that of a hand can be.

(7) If matter can be moved without contact, the mere will of the psychic may set the keys or strings of a musical instrument in motion, and thus Crookes's experiment of the accordion playing in a cage be explained.

9. If you put enough into the theory of the psychic force, you can get out of it enough to explain everything in the psychical phenomena, but that theory which asserts that this force, as controlled exclusively by men, produces all the phenomena, is greatly strained by the alleged facts of the penetration of matter by matter, and of the disappearance of matter.

10. The theory that all spiritual communications are only a mental mirror of the human minds seeking the communications, breaks down in many cases.



## *TRANSCENDENTAL PHYSICS; OR,*

11. Hence the necessity of raising the question whether intelligences not in the flesh may not control the psychic force.

12. It is the theory of Serjeant Cox and President Mahan that the psychic force as controlled, consciously or unconsciously, by men, accounts for all the phenomena.

It is the theory of Crookes and Zöllner that the phenomena are explicable only on the supposition that this force is controlled by both men and spirits.

If spirits do move tables and produce music and writing, I believe they do it by controlling this psychic force, which is perhaps more fully under their control than it can be under ours.

Matter passes through matter. A conch-shell passes through a table and drops on the floor. How can that be explained? How did our Lord enter a room when the doors were shut? What if matter is only visible force? Here is a cake of ice. I apply to it what you call heat, but heat is only a form of motion. What does the application of heat effect? It changes the relation of the molecular atoms to each other. The impenetrable ice becomes penetrable water. I continue to apply heat. The water becomes vapour, and I might walk through the invisible steam. Have I done anything supernatural in that? I have simply applied natural law in such a way that matter is made to penetrate matter. Put the particles composing the mahogany lid of this table into the same electrical condition and they will repel each other. The lid might thus become penetrable. If you separate the particles of matter from each other you increase its permeability. The passing of matter through matter is not utterly incredible if you adopt the theory that the psychic force is under the control of spirits and man, and that by its use the relations of the particles of matter to each other may be changed. The German professors saw a table appearing and disappearing in the air. Is that any more strange than that the ice becomes water, and the water invisible steam? The conch-shell that passed through the table in the Leipzig experiments was made suddenly very hot. You say that I am attempting to lead you into a strange new land. That is my business.

13. Only persistent and mercilessly exact research can decide between these two theories.

14. Meanwhile, it is safe to assert with Ulrici, that enough is already established to annihilate materialism and destroy utterly the mechanical theory of matter.

If Zöllner and his associates at Leipzig University in their investigations of psychical phenomena did see a palm and fingers, as they

*A NEW WORLD IN PHILOSOPHY.*

say they did, and scientifically proved its existence by the tests which they describe, there has come forth on the wall of Belshazzar's feast a hand whose writing it immensely behoves materialism to read. Materialism has been king, indeed, but not a king without opponents.

Materialism the king made a great feast to a thousand of his lords and drank wine before the thousand. Materialism, while he tasted the wine, commanded to bring the gold and silver vessels which his father Atheism had taken out of the temple which was at Jerusalem; that the king and his princes, his wives and his concubines, might drink therein. Then they brought the golden vessels that were taken out of the temple of the House of God which was at Jerusalem; and the king and his princes, his wives and concubines, drank in them. They drank wine and praised the gods of gold and of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone.

In the same hour came forth fingers of a man's hand and wrote over against the candlestick upon the plaister of the wall of the king's palace; and the king saw the part of the hand that wrote. Then the king's countenance was changed, and his thoughts troubled him so that the joints of his loins were loosed, and his knees smote one against the other. This is the interpretation of the writing, "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin." God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balances and found wanting. Thy kingdom is divided and given to another.

## *MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR, OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.*

### THE PRELUDE.—THE DIMINISHING INFLUENCE OF CHANNING'S NEGATIONS.

CHANNING's beautiful spirit, the product of generations of Puritan culture, stands in the past like a star, but the pale negations which he taught bring forth as yet no soul like his own. He was produced from something better than he planted. On the seventh day of April, 1880, a hundred years will have passed from the birth of Channing; and a calm judgment, I think, must say that while his philanthropic and literary influence waxes, his distinctively theological wanes. You will not understand me to regret at all Channing's influence so far as his chief affirmations in natural and revealed theology are concerned, for in his affirmations he is harmonious with the great body of Christian belief throughout all nations and ages. The statue of Channing as a public teacher is composed in part of brass and iron, and in part of clay. His negations are the clay, and as the storms of time beat upon the image, the soft material is washed away; but the affirmations, both in theology and in philanthropy, are the sterner metal, and they make a figure which I am anxious should be venerated.

Aspiration for moral greatness was Channing's predominant trait, and he learned it from no set of negations like his own. He was the pupil of New England Christianity, the consummate flower of the old Puritanism, in his youth. Few remember how intimate his relations were with Hopkins, a disciple of Jonathan Edwards. It ought never to be forgotten that when, in 1802, Channing was ordained to the ministry, many of his best friends expected him to defend extreme orthodoxy. Channing was profoundly moved by admiration of the stern purity which the Stoics taught. In studying Hutcheson's essays on "Beauty and Virtue," he attained sublime views of self-devotion to the absolute good. Ferguson, on "Civil Society," concentrated his energies on the thought of social progress. But he derived from these writers no more important moulding influences than he had received from Hopkins and Edwards. George Bancroft says that whoever would understand New England in the days of her transition from the Old World type of civilization to that of the New, must give his days and nights to the study of Jonathan Edwards. Calvin himself, although not slavishly echoed by the modern New England theology, is so far a power yet, that I may say that even Channing, having been moulded largely by Edwards, showed throughout life some touches from the fingers of the Prophet of Geneva. Let us have mental hospitality enough to admit the action and interaction of orthodoxy and heterodoxy upon each other. Let us be true to our knowledge of the lines of cause and effect in history, and confess that the glorious aspiration

### MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION.

for moral greatness, which made Channing a reformer in things both secular and religious, was but the flowering out of some of the stern doctrines of Puritanism.

Edwards himself had a poetic nature, of greater depth, perhaps, than any other that New England has produced, although he had no sense of rhythm, and could not sing what his soul's holy of holies contained. Channing, with his wonderful grace of expression, and his marvellously sensitive organization, did not possess an intellect of the first order of eminence. I do not know that even his most enthusiastic admirers claim that he was at all the equal of Edwards in intellectual power. But it is safe to assert that Edwards was more than the equal of Channing in spiritual endowment and religious insight, and that much of the deeper inspiration which Unitarian circles value so highly in Channing, the spiritual illumination, the profound religious sensitiveness which characterized his writings, he learned out of the old New England Christianity, and from no negations like his own. Coleridge said: "Unitarians may be Christians, but Unitarianism is not Christianity."\* The same Coleridge also said of Channing: "He has the love of wisdom and the wisdom of love." Until Channing's negations came to the front there were no important negations in the progress of New England Christianity.

History will never fail to enlogize Channing as a reformer in regard to peace and war, temperance, education, and most specially concerning slavery. What was the effect which Channing's whole career produced on the mind of the young man Lowell at Cambridge? When, in 1842, Channing was placed in his grave, Lowell laid upon the marble these words, which may well be ours:

Farewell, good man, good angel now! This hand  
Soon, like thine own, shall lose its cunning too;  
Soon shall this soul, like thine, bewildered stand,  
Then leap to thread the free unfathomed blue.

When that day comes, O may this hand grow cold,  
Busy like thine, for Freedom and the Right;  
O, may this soul, like thine, be ever bold  
To face dark Slavery's encroaching blight.

It was as a reformer, and not especially as a theologian, that Channing imprinted himself on this soul of a poet as sensitive as a daguerrotype-plate. It is as a reformer, I think, and not as a theologian, that Channing will be remembered a hundred years hence with the most reverence.

Channing's pure, clear, and graceful English style has carried his thoughts far into those circles of which Emerson says that their central doctrine is, "By taste are ye saved." It fixed the fashion of much Boston and New England writing. Compared with John Milton's, Jeremy Taylor's, John Ruskin's, or Thomas Carlyle's mastery of English expression, Channing's style, like Everett's, painfully lacks variety, warmth, vividness, and force. It is a sweet but monotonous clear tone on one string of the harp of the soul, and not a full, bold, varied and utterly natural sweeping of all the chords.

It will be understood, I hope, that I distinguish between Channing's philanthropic and literary influence, on the one hand, and his distinctively theological on the other, and that I make a still further distinction between the effect of his affirmations in theology, and that of his negations. It is the latter on which I place emphasis when I express my individual opinion that the influence of Channing in his negations is declining.

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\* *Table Talk.*

## MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,

Why are the characteristic negations of Channing's theology not fitted to exert a permanent and enlarging influence?

The negations deny the Deity of our Lord, the vicariousness of the Atonement, and the depravity of human nature.

I offer eight reasons in support of my opinion that these negations are not fitted to exert a permanent and enlarging influence.

1. Two of Channing's characteristic negations proceed from complete misconceptions of the orthodox doctrines which they deny.

The doctrine of human depravity, rightly understood, does not assert the unarrangeability of man's faculties in harmony with moral law, but simply their disarrangedness.

Channing never correctly represents the doctrine, and so his negation of it is a blow into the air. By the total depravity he understands, as orthodoxy does not, the total corruption of human nature.

By total depravity, orthodoxy means the utter disarrangedness of man's faculties previous to regeneration, but not their unarrangeability.

The doctrine of the vicariousness of the Atonement does not imply the transference of personal blameworthiness from one individuality to another, nor the punishment of an innocent being. Channing always taught, as do most of his followers, that both these positions are involved in the doctrine, and so his negation on this point was a blow into the air.

The barbarities of the doctrine of vicarious Atonement are dinned in our ears by those who ought to understand the doctrine; and when we ask for a proof of the barbarities, we are pointed to the alleged self-contradiction in the idea that personal blameworthiness can be transferred from one individual to another. Orthodoxy never asserts that. It is impossible, in the nature of things, that blameworthiness should be transferred. We are also told that the doctrine of a vicarious Atonement requires us to believe that an innocent being was made to suffer punishment. Orthodoxy does not mean that punishment, in the sense of pain inflicted for personal blameworthiness, was borne by our Lord. Orthodoxy distinguishes, as all clear thought must, between pain inflicted for personal blameworthiness, and pain inflicted for the moral benefit of those who witness its infliction, or for the moral benefit of the sufferer. Punishment and chastisement do differ greatly in the nature of things. The Atonement consists in the substitution of Christ's voluntary sacrificial chastisement for man's punishment. Guilt may mean either one of two very different things. It signifies sometimes personal blameworthiness; at others liability to suffer to maintain the honour of a violated law. It is in this latter sense of the word that we are taught that guilt was taken off from sinners and placed upon our Lord. The barbarities of the doctrine of the Atonement! That phraseology is used only by those whose mental or moral experience has never shown to them the depths and the heights of this supreme mountain-range of revealed truth, its summit commencing with the eternal azure, and its roots taking hold of the very core of the nature of things!

2. In regard to the negation of the Deity of our Lord, Channing, so far as he was an Arian, has to-day very few followers, even among unevangelical sects.

In the central and most effective portion of his ministry, Channing was an Arian; that is, he denied both the Deity and the mere humanity of our Lord, and asserted his superhuman-character, or that He was the highest of all created beings. His own biographer admits that in this period, "he held opinions in

## OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

regard to the Divine Government, spiritual influences, a mediator, and the kingdom of heaven, which, by most liberal Christians, would be considered rather mystical than rational." \*

Channing held that Christ was not human, and not divine, but was a created being. But, as a created being, Christ must have been finite; and yet Channing said, in 1817: "Angels are subjected to Him. *Nature is subject to Him*,"—that is, *to this finite being*. "These views give a new complexion to the mind which truly imbibes them. Christ ever lives and is ever active for mankind." † The idea that the present influences of the Holy Spirit are the continued life of our Lord was dear to Channing, and was really the inspiration of that solemn tone which vibrates through his earlier ministry, and hushes to-day whoever listens to it. I do not hear that tone in average unevangelical preaching, for I do not find there the belief that the influences of the Holy Spirit are the influences of our ascended Lord. That is a belief dear to orthodoxy. That is a doctrine central in the New Testament literature. That was indeed the inspiration of the goodly company of the apostles and martyrs in the ages of persecution under the Roman Empire. That is to-day the sacred, serene, unfathomable joy of all who have absorbed the spirit of the Gospels. ‡ But Channing had no right to that doctrine, for he held that Christ was a finite being, and how can a finite being be omnipresent?

Even as late as 1841, Channing wrote: "The fulness of the Godhead was substantially in Christ. His will corresponded precisely to the Divine. Jesus was the Shekinah in an unspeakably higher sense than the splendour in the cloud." §

You say he died a humanitarian, asserting that our Lord was merely a man. That is what he wrote when death was only one circuit of the seasons distant from him.

Channing's high Arianism is held now by very few Unitarians. Even the revered preacher at Harvard University can hardly be called, in the full sense of the words, a Channing Unitarian. I understand that the recent President of that University, Thomas Hill, in many respects the profoundest metaphysical mind in New England, is an Arian. There are a few of the very strongest men in the unevangelical body who rise to Channing's height, and to the Biblical point of view; or, I will say, almost to that point, for Arianism, in my opinion, does not exhaust the meaning of the Scriptures, and yet it so much more nearly exhausts it than any humanitarianism, that when I listen to that venerated ex-President of Harvard University, who was once my instructor, I do not find, except in a very few passages, anything to dissent from. I think Arianism is as unnecessary in theology as a middle blade in a pair of shears, and is as sure to be ground to powder as a third stone between the upper and lower millstones. There is no room for it. It is one of the most self-contradictory theories a man can maintain theologically; but spiritually, it is a vast advance upon humanitarianism.

3. Church history shows that Arianism is much more difficult to be maintained than either orthodoxy or humanitarianism. It involves the contradiction of assigning substantially infinite powers to a finite being.

4. On the other hand, Church history proves that humanitarianism cannot be made harmonious with the Scriptures; the exegetical argument in theology has

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\* Channing's "Memoirs," Vol. II., p. 94. † "Memoirs," Vol. II., p. 60.  
‡ See Boston Monday Lectures, "Transcendentalism," pp. 267-276; and "Orthodoxy," pp. 88-95. § "Memoirs," Vol. II., p. 438.

### *MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,*

again and again been triumphantly shown to be against those who assert the mere humanity of Christ. All Arians will admit this; and, therefore, if it be claimed that Channing's final position was humanitarian, the inference from history is that fifteen out of twenty of the acutest and most learned interpreters of the Scriptures will decide that the Bible, rightly understood, is against him.

I hold that in the exegetical debate between the evangelical and unevangelical sects the actual result indicates the real merits of the case. Fifteen out of twenty, and I think a much larger number of scholars, assert that the New Testament does teach the literal Deity of our Lord. Rationalists in Germany throw the New Testament away because they say it teaches this. They have no desire to find the doctrine in the Bible; but it is there. In the great debate in New England between evangelical and unevangelical parties, I maintain that the evangelical argument advanced by Andover against Cambridge has never been answered. Cambridge has moved to another line of defence, and occupies philosophical ground, and that is the position which must ultimately be taken up by unevangelical believers. The assertion that the New Testament does not teach the Deity of our Lord puts such a strain on the doctrine of inspiration that it is no wonder that the exegetical argument is finally left in the back-ground and philosophy pushed to the front as a sort of higher revelation.

5. In the latter period of his life, Channing's opinions, as is claimed by those who knew him best, and as perhaps a promised new biography may show, became much more, nearly or quite humanitarian, and thus a self-contradiction, or at least a vacillation in his views impairs their fitness to exert a permanent influence.

It is certain that the solemn and inspired tone of Channing's preaching when he was an Arian was not often heard from him in the years when he is supposed to have been a humanitarian. The latter portion of his career as a preacher and theologian defeats the influence of the earlier portion, when he taught high Arian views.

6. It is noteworthy, that while Arian-Unitarianism has little power among Channing's successors, humanitarian Unitarianism, as compared with the influences which counteract it, has far less power now than thirty or forty years ago in Boston and Eastern Massachusetts, where it has had the best of opportunities to be fairly heard.

Evangelical Christianity is manifestly predominant now in Eastern Massachusetts, and even in Boston, where, in 1815, there were but two Orthodox Congregational churches.

There has lately been issued a superb volume describing the present state of our American colleges. An article in it by a professor of the Law School of Harvard, takes great pains to prove that Harvard has not passed into the hands of the Unitarians, nor indeed, into those of any other religious denominations, but certainly not into those of the Unitarians. As an illustration of the increase of the evangelical patronage of Harvard University, it is interesting to notice that the number of Trinitarian and Unitarian students in the senior classes in Harvard has been as follows for five years:—In 1870, 68 to 55; in 1871, 74 to 57; in 1872, 52 to 40; 1873, 62 to 43; 1874, 72 to 71; in 1875, 77 to 44.\* It may be roundly stated that since 1865 Harvard has been predominantly evangelical, in the tendency of its undergraduate department.

7. The progress of exegetical research in matters pertaining to Channing's characteristic negations has strengthened in Germany, and so throughout the

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\* See the article by Professor Ames, on "Harvard," in "The College Book."

### OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

learned world, the evangelical positions represented by such a work as Dorner's "Person of Christ."

8. The progress of ethical science since Channing's day has caused all systems of religious thought that do not contain a doctrine of a vicarious Atonement, to seem inadequate to meet the wants of human nature.

Channing's system does not bridge the wide streams of philosophy. Held over such a river of thought as flows through Julius Müller's "Doctrine of Sin," and recent allied works on conscience and the moral law, Channing's teachings are as inadequate to span the current as a fishing-rod is to bridge the Mississippi. The inadequateness of Channing's system of thought in this respect is its supreme failure.

Channing himself said, in 1841, in a letter to James Martineau: "Old Unitarianism must undergo important modifications or developments. This I have felt for years. It does not work deeply. It does not strike living springs in the soul. It cannot quicken and regenerate the world." \* But its inadequacies in these supreme points result from its negations.

Thomas Jefferson, in 1822, when he heard of Channing's earlier preaching, wrote: "I trust there is not a young man now living in the United States who will not die a Unitarian. Unitarianism will, ere long, be the religion of the majority, from North to South." † This was a common prophecy in 1820 and 1830. Besides Thomas Jefferson, there was not a more vehement opponent of orthodoxy in the United States, within the ranges of respectable circles, than John Adams. He quite agreed with Jefferson. Fifty-seven solemn years have passed, and James McCosh, equipped in all modern learning, President of Princeton College, writes, in 1879: "Unitarianism has died, and is laid out for decent burial." ‡ [Applause.]

I have no desire to hear your applause at this point [lifting a hand to hush the applause]. You think I am an ecclesiastical partisan. My voice will be heard here not often perhaps in the next year or two years.

America is dear to me: the green springing corn of the prairies; the thunders of Niagara; the solitudes of the Adirondacks; Lake George, the first object I can remember; the swaying waterfalls of the Yosemite. I love them all, but I am to leave them all. Immeasurably more to me than my country is my creed, for that I am not to leave. My home is not here, except for a season. My home is in the company of those truths of the faith, in reliance upon which I am to go out of the world. Six hundred feet above the water of Lake George, at the summit of Roger's Rock, there is a little spot I call mine, and I rest my forehead upon the granite in my weary days, and am at peace.

There the unclouded yellow moon  
Hangs o'er the eastern ridges,  
And the long shaft of trembling gold  
The trembling crystal bridges.

—G. S. HILLIARD, "Lake George."

Your historian, Parkman, whose vivid pages are the aureole of Lake George, wrote to me, not long since, that it is the most enchanting spot in America. I expect to go back there to revise the ten books you have made me publish in four years. I shall not stay there. I have no home except yonder [pointing upward], neither have you. As thoroughly as that I exist, I believe that no man can

\* "Memoirs," Vol. II., p. 399.

† Parton's "Life of Jefferson," pp. 711-713.

‡ *Catholic Presbyterian*, September, 1879.



### *MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,*

obtain harmonization with himself and God and an irreversible past unless the New Birth and the Atonement stand between him and God. I live in that system of thought, and am no partisan. It is not pleasant for me to criticize anybody; but if a man be a champion of an army attacking that castle in which I am to find protection beyond death; if a man be a champion of an army attacking, not my earthly home, but this palace in which I am to live for ever, and these beliefs which are philosophically necessary to my harmonization with my God, myself, and my past, I defend my hearthstone; I defend the altar of the palace in which I am to live permanently. I have no peace except in that house. It has borne attack long—it has borne attack eighteen hundred years; I believe that it is a house that hath foundations; and I invite you into it, through the New Birth and the Atonement.

### THE LECTURE.

THE great Leipzig experiment of tying knots in an endless cord has been successfully repeated by Dr. Nichols, a learned physician in London. The experiment is important as defeating the theory of legerdemain. It is important also because it puts a severe strain upon the theory that the psychic force, as controlled exclusively by man, explains the knots. It is necessary to the operation of this force, that it should accord with conscious or unconscious mental states, but there is no conscious or unconscious mental state in man explaining how knots can be tied in an endless cord. Without Zöllner's theory of the fourth dimension of space, and the further assumption that matter can pass through matter, this phenomenon, it is claimed, cannot be explained. We are, therefore, forced to examine the competing theory, namely, that the psychic force is under the control of both men and spirits.

Dr. Nichols' own description of his famous repetition of Prof. Zöllner's experiment has been re-published by Zöllner.\*

I cut four yards of common brown twine—such as I use for large book-packets—from a fresh ball of twine, examined it carefully; tied the two ends together in a single knot which included both, then passed the united ends through a hole in my visiting card; tied a square knot and firmly sealed this knot to the card, and asked a gentleman to seal it with his seal ring. On this card I also put my signature and the date. The loop of the string, whose two ends were thus sealed to the card, I again examined and found it free from knots.

Six persons, including Mr. Eglinton and Mr. Cölman, sat round a small table. The sealed card was placed on the centre of the table, and the fingers of each person present placed upon it, while the loop hung down upon the floor.

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\* Vol. II., p. 907.

OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

This position was maintained for about a minute, when raps were heard, and I examined the string. The ends were firmly fastened and sealed as before, and five single knots were tied upon it, about a foot apart—on the single endless string, observe, whose perfect fastening had never left my sight—where they now remain.

It is certain that no mortal man could have tied these knots—equally certain that all the philosophers and all the “magicians” of Europe cannot now untie them under the same conditions.

Here is a fact which can be proven in any court of justice, and for which any conceivable number of dimensions of space cannot account.

T. L. NICHOLS, M.D.

32, Fopstone-road, London, Apr. 19, 1878.

Prof. Zöllner is so convinced that knots in an endless cord cannot be explained by any theory of legerdemain that he illustrates his experiment by a large plate, showing the condition of the cord, and claims to have discovered a new force in nature. Consider for yourselves what happens when knots are tied in an endless cord. You have the loop without knots hanging before you, and knots are tied in one side of the loop, while the ends of the cords are sealed and held under your thumbs, and the hands of the so-called psychic are constantly in sight. It is physically impossible to tie a knot in an endless cord without the passage of matter through matter. Legerdemain does not pretend to effect that. It is a new fact in the history of imposture, if it is imposture. Notice that I do not say it is not imposture, but I will say that thus far we have no explanation of it from the point of view of legerdemain. Here are trained physical experimenters asserting that knots are thus tied before their eyes.

Of course there are many phenomena more wonderful than this described in the records of psychical facts; but I am not aware of the existence of any one record that is so well authenticated by experts as this, so free from suspicion as to legerdemain or nervous derangement, and therefore so available and crucial as scientific evidence.

Zöllner thinks that if there is a fourth dimension of space, he can show how knots can be tied in an endless cord by an intelligence outside of man's brain and familiar with the fourth dimension. But Zöllner's theory on that point is a little ridiculed by mathematicians themselves. It is no part of my purpose to push to the front his theory of the fourth dimension of space. You may read his speculations on that point, but they amount only to saying, that if there are beings conscious of only two dimensions of space, for instance length and breadth, and we were to take a position above or below them, we should be invisible to them. Just so, if there is a fourth dimension of space, and if there exist in it intelligent beings, they may keep

*MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,*

their position in that fourth dimension and so be invisible to us. We are conscious of three dimensions only. As, for example, we should be invisible to snails that could only crawl on the length or the breadth of a surface and not see above or below them, so possibly spirits may be unseen by man because they inhabit a fourth dimension of space. If we were to come down upon the plane of simple length and breadth, and out of the regions of height, we should be visible to those crawling creatures which have only cognizance of two dimensions; but until we thus descend we cannot reveal ourselves to them. And so spirits are invisible to us when they are in the fourth dimension of space, but become visible when in either of our three dimensions. This sounds like a very recondite theory, but at the last analysis it appears to be only a make-shift to account for peculiar phenomena. There is nothing in the theory that really explains the tying of knots in an endless cord. An intelligence that can bring the knots into existence must be admitted to exist somewhere, and when such intelligence is assumed as existing outside of the body, why may it not be supposed to be invisible to us, and yet to exist in our three dimensions of space?

When one student sat near another at Andover, in the object-lesson I gave you some days ago, thought was transferred from one brain to another without effort on the part of either student. I suppose that the student whose thought was transferred, was utterly unconscious that his thought was being translated into another mind. Now, according to the theory of the psychic force, it is not absolutely necessary that I should will the movement of a table in order to produce the movement. Facts that have once been known to me, but of which I am not now conscious, may be described by raps, and all because the psychic force accords with both conscious and unconscious mental states. This is a very bold theory, but President Mahan and Serjeant Cox build up learned volumes on it. Dr. Bell says that an untouched table moved forty feet. President Mahan admits the fact, but affirms that the company unconsciously wished it to move, and that that wish took possession of this strange psychic force and moved the object.\*

No man ever tied knots in an endless cord. It is utterly inconceivable to the human faculties that those knots are possible at all. How can you account, even by an unconscious mental state, for the production of those knots in the string? If President Mahan, who is a rigorous and vigorous defender of his theory through thick and

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\* See "The Phenomena of Spiritualism," by Rev. Asa Mahan, D.D., First President of Oberlin College, Ohio, edition of 1876, pp. 272-276.

### OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

thin, were here, I presume that he would admit that the knots were tied as Zöllner and his associates assert they were. Repetition of experiment is the supreme test of truth in science, and Dr. Nichols and Zöllner have both repeated this experiment. President Mahan's explanation of it would be that the company unconsciously willed that the knots should be tied, and that they were tied by the psychic force controlled by this mental state. It may be they were; but if President Mahan knows they were, he knows more than he proves. There is *prima facie* evidence to show that unconscious states of mind may control the psychic force, and produce motions in physical objects; but can it cause matter to pass through matter? President Mahan's theory is put to its wits' ends by this Leipzig and London experiment, for there are no human mental states, conscious or unconscious, to explain how knots of the kind here in discussion can be tied without the intervention of an intelligence not human.

If I ask you to look at the theory which asserts that the psychic force is under the control of spirits as well as of men, I do so without abandoning for an instant the use of the rival theory, so far as it will go, for I think a vast number of the psychical phenomena are explained as President Mahan says they are, by the influence of the psychic force, as exclusively controlled by the will, and even by the unconscious cerebration of human beings. It is only when I meet with facts like the Leipzig and London experiments which I am discussing, and attested by reputable scientific experts, that I am inclined to look at Zöllner's theory, that possibly the psychic force may be under the control of both men and spirits.

In order to show you what importance there is in making a distinction between Mahan's and Zöllner's theory, let me read you a few sentences from Dr. Wyld of Edinburgh, in which he outlines his own opinion in contradiction to that of Serjeant Cox, a celebrated lawyer, who led the researches of the London Dialectical Society, when that organization, under the presidency of Sir John Lubbock, investigated psychical phenomena.

The views I hold on the subject differ from those held by Mr. Cox.

While he holds that *all* the so-called spiritual phenomena are produced by the psychic force of human beings in the body, I, on the contrary, hold that all phenomena within the capability of departed human spirits *can* be produced by the spirits of human beings not departed, but that, as presented to us, some of the phenomena are from the one source and some from the other; that this psychic force can be exercised by some living beings, but that much more easily and frequently the souls of departed human beings can exercise the same force.

*MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,*

You will not understand that the acute lawyer whose views are here combated by a physician undertook to prove a negative. Serjeant Cox's own words, as quoted by Professor Crookes, are : "But I, and all who adopt this theory of psychic force as being the agent through which the phenomena are produced, do not thereby intend to assert that this psychic force may not be sometimes *seized and directed by some other intelligence than the mind of the psychic.*"

Here you have, in sharp contrast, the two theories, between which, as I suppose, the stress of the conflict lies in regard to this multiplex and massive theme. Without adopting Zöllner's theory, I beg you to stand for a moment in the position of those who do adopt it, and to notice what your mental horizons from that outlook are.

What view of the world does Zöllner's theory of Transcendental Physics necessitate ?

1. Man is a duality possessed of body and spirit.

It may be that under the latter term two things are contained, namely a psychic body and the soul. We have first the physical body ; and then the psychic body of which Ulrici speaks, and of which, as Julius Müller interprets the Scriptures, the Bible itself speaks ; and then we have the soul which is the moving power of both the bodies which ensowathe it. Body, soul and spirit is the Biblical triplicate division of man. In the first proposition of Transcendental Physics you find nothing absolutely contrary to the Bible ; indeed, you find that the trichotomy of the Biblical psychology is substantially justified by this new philosophical division. Here is perhaps the best book in the English language on "The Biblical Doctrine of Man." It is by John Laidlaw, M.A., and constitutes the seventh series of the Cunningham Lectures, and was published (by T. & T. Clark, at Edinburgh) in 1879. In this volume all these doctrines about the threefold division of man are established on the evidence of proof texts.

Shall I confess that I did a strange thing the other day when alone in my study ? There happened to lie near me a couple of Hackel's most audacious volumes. As I studied the psychical force and saw how the Biblical view of the world is being justified by science itself ; as I saw that at any rate all materialism has gone to the wall ; as I saw that, admitting only the few facts which have been proved as to the influence of mind on matter without contact, and the influence of thought on thought without expression, every materialistic hypothesis is overturned to the last foundation stone ; and as I saw that the Biblical philosophy of mind and matter is coming to the front, I seized the Bible that lay near me on a shelf

OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

set apart for devotional works, and put it in the highest place of honour on a shelf devoted to *philosophy*! At the same instant, by an irresistible impulse which expressed my horror of atheistic materialism in conflict with Transcendental Physics, I hurled Hackel into the obscurest nook on the floor of the room.

2. In life, the spirit possesses will power, and can, in certain cases, read the thoughts of other spirits without their expression.

Notice, I do not myself assert this as a truth, but am describing what this theory requires us to assert. There are many among you who will grant that proposition; for instance, Professor Thompson, whom I quoted last Monday, grants it. Dr. Carpenter grants it. Dr. Beard strenuously denies it. There are many kinds of inadequately sifted *prima facie* evidence supporting the theory that some human minds can read the thoughts of others without direct expression, and also control matter without contact.

3. Man has in this life a natural susceptibility to exclusively spiritual impressions.

The case of our two students illustrates this. One mind took unexpressed thought from another's mind without any effort of its own.

4. After death occurs, the spirit continues to possess the same will power by which matter in the body was moved, and it also possesses the same power to read the thoughts of other spirits.

Death effects no change in the natural capacities of the spirit. The spirit after death as before is under natural law.

5. The operation of the psychic force in the hands of spirits out of the flesh, if it is assumed to be a fact, will explain many psychical phenomena of modern, and also many of ancient, days.

6. It places Transcendental Physics on the same basis with the Biblical doctrine of man.

7. It supplies modern evidence of the absolute correctness of the Scripture ideas of pneumatology.

8. It makes miracles, prophecy, and inspiration philosophically credible.

Observe that the position here taken is not that no other point of view makes them credible. I believe the ordinary doctrines concerning miracles, prophecy, and inspiration, may be justified triumphantly without any aid from the study of modern psychical phenomena. They live to-day, and rule the ages without any assistance from Transcendental Physics. Do not think I am leaning at all upon this support, which may turn out to be a broken reed to pierce the man who rests upon it. I am asking only that you should, as an experiment, take the point of view of those who study Transcendental

*MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,*

Physics, and notice whether the new world in philosophy is, or is not, conterminous and parallel with the Biblical doctrine of mind and matter, and of good and evil spirits.

According to Transcendental Physics, the body is nothing. The soul is the man. Without the soul the body is as dead as the matter in this mahogany table-leaf. It is my will power which moves my body in certain of its motions, although it is inert matter. After death, according to this theory, I can in certain cases bring myself into connection with other forms of matter and move them by will power. As in life, I can read thought even before it is expressed, so after death I can read thought; and, if there is any way of establishing communication, I can answer your questions, if you have power to understand my answers. I know no more after death perhaps than I did before. I may be able to ascertain more, for I can look better into your thoughts.

What I insist on, is that, if there is in man a natural susceptibility to spiritual impression from a human embodied mind, it is philosophically credible that man may be susceptible to spiritual impressions from a human disembodied, or a superhuman mind, and so susceptible of inspiration. It is not philosophically incredible that he may receive power by a spirit not his own to prophesy the details of distant events.

9. It is philosophically credible that there may be a communion of the human spirit with God, and that man may have God dwelling in him. If a finite spirit may dwell with a finite spirit, may not the Infinite Spirit dwell in some sense with a finite?

10. The psychology of the new birth rises upon us here by glimpses, but by most suggestive glimpses.

11. Transcendental Physics show the difference between signs and lying wonders, on the one hand, and miracles on the other.

The Scriptures tell us to try the spirits, and the new point of view of Transcendental Physics shows us what fathomlessly important reasons there may be for that advice. If spirits, after they leave the flesh, retain the characteristics they had here in their last moments, we are perfectly justified in saying that some of them do not wish well to humanity. We may be certain that there are wicked spirits, for there are wicked souls that leave this life. We find that even in the flesh there are human beings who acquire dissimilarity of feeling with God, and who have come to love utterly the things God hates, and to hate utterly the things He loves. Death, according to the philosophy I am describing, is not likely to change at once either the natural capacities or the moral character of any

### OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

spirit. If, under the self-propagating power of sin, the soul goes on here in the flesh acquiring a character averse to God, it may evidently, under the same natural law, go on after death in the same process. This is the strength of my appeal to all men, to beware of a final permanence of character on the bad side. *The soul after death may be bound to the evil which it did not forsake here, and yet remain as free yonder as it was here.*

12. A part of the company you invite into your houses in psychical phenomena may therefore consist of evil spirits.

13. When a proper distinction is made between the merely superhuman and the strictly supernatural, this theory does not destroy the evidential value of miracles.

It is vastly important that you should have a distinct idea of what you mean by nature. You say you mean by that term only the realm of natural law in this world. Well, what is that realm which is above man and below God? Whatever is *natus* I call nature, whether it be human or superhuman. If you adopt that definition, you will not confuse the merely superhuman with the strictly supernatural.

If you will make a just distinction between the laws of nature and the laws of the universe, you will easily see that a supernatural act must always involve creative power, and can be performed only by the one Being who is above nature.

14. In many of the Scripture miracles, and in none of the lying wonders of false religions, do we have proof of creative power.

I hold that in the resurrection, creative power was exercised. I hold that in prophecy it was exercised. There was a distinct prediction concerning the coming of our Lord, which was given to the ages centuries before the fulfilment of the prophecy. Such foreknowledge of events only within the power of omniscience and omnipresence, can be possessed only by the Supreme Mind itself. All true prophecy involves strictly supernatural powers.

I hold, moreover, that in the character of our Lord, the only perfect adaptation man's nature has ever shown to the laws of the universe, there was something supernatural. It is not natural for the finite to be perfect; but our Lord's character was perfect, and His doctrine and His only fits the universe. The sinlessness of Christ is one proof of His origin. He does not show the imperfection of the finite in moral things. He is absolutely perfect, and, as such, supernatural.

After we have proved the existence of strictly supernatural traits, in prophecy and the resurrection, and in the character of our Lord,



*MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,*

we may infer its existence in the winnowing of the Bible. There is no morally erroneous doctrine in the sixty-six books there gathered together.

We may prove also that there has been a supernatural guidance of history in accordance with prophecy. In that guidance we may find creative power never to be exercised by any finite spirit.

15. We are to receive as supernatural what is attested as such by him who was authenticated by creative power.

16. By the distinction between the merely superhuman and the strictly supernatural, we are to guard ourselves from admitting signs and lying wonders to be supernatural acts.

You ask how I set up a barrier against the belief that the Catholic miracles are genuine? I do it by this distinction. I believe in the possibility of miracles in modern times, but as to their actuality, I must decide by scientific rules.

17. If a merely superhuman act is performed, it is no attestation of a revelation.

When I have really one supernatural act, as I have in the resurrection, in prophecy, in the coming into existence of Christ's own character, I begin with that act, and take what accords with it through the ranges of revelation, and find I am safe.

As to middle-age wonders, Catholic wonders, and spiritualistic wonders, although they may be lying wonders fit to deceive even the elect, as the Bible says, they are not to be treated as supernatural, for they very evidently contain no proof of the operation of creative power.

18. The new world in philosophy, therefore, insists on Biblical rules for the trying of spirits.

John Wesley, in his maturest years, did not hesitate to say: "If but one account of the intercourse of men with separate spirits be admitted, the whole castle in the air—deism, atheism, materialism—falls to the ground. I know no reason, therefore, why we should suffer even this weapon to be wrested out of our hands." \*

If science goes on repeating psychical experiments, if it proves over and over that things are done that no human will ever, by the aid of psychic force, can do, it will force all candid men to adopt Transcendental Physics as their philosophy. In adopting this new view, however, you would only adopt the Biblical view of the world, and you would find yourselves invincible in defending miracles, prophecy, and inspiration, against materialism. I believe you are invincible now, without the aid of Transcendental Physics, but you

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\* Tyerman, "Life and Times of Wesley," Vol. III., p. 11.

### OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

would be re-enforced to a certain degree by the decisive support which the new philosophy brings to the most contested points of the Biblical history and psychology.

After the lecture, Mr. Cook addressed the audience as follows concerning

#### EMERSON'S THEISM.

It has been widely proclaimed that your lecturer has asserted in the West, that Mr. Emerson has joined an Orthodox Church. Various amplifications of this absurd rumour have so annoyed a son of the great philosopher and poet, that the former has written a denial of what needed no contradiction. I beg leave to say that I have never made the assertions which he denies, nor any remotely resembling them. All that I have said concerning Mr. Emerson, East or West, North or South, in public or in private, has been, that I regard him now as a theist, although not exactly a Christian theist, and that I think his earlier writings were pantheistic. Mr. Alcott has said much more, or at least has authorized the public assertion that Mr. Emerson is not only a theist, but a Christian theist, in the full sense of the words. It is very possible that the enlargement of Mr. Alcott's statements, and the mixing of them with mine, have caused the utterly false report that I passed through the West in a flamboyant manner, asserting what I dared not affirm in the East. Several anonymous and irresponsible, and apparently unscrupulous writers for the press, have taken pains to trumpet the assertion, that your lecturer has overstepped all bounds of decency in claiming that Mr. Emerson is his convert. If you knew how loathsome to me is any public statement that I am a teacher of teachers, you would acquit me of all suspicion that I ever made any claim of converting Mr. Emerson or anybody else. As one of the humblest of American students of religious truths, I have come to this platform for five years as your outlook committee. It is true that ministers and scholars have been present here in extraordinary number; but I have always said, that if they came into this assembly they must take their chances as to losing their time. I do not pretend to teach them. If laymen can pick up, in the discussions here, some truth or illustration that may be of service to them in their hurried life, I shall be sufficiently rewarded.

As to Mr. Emerson's views, I make myself responsible for these two propositions:—

1. In 1868, the revered pastor of the Old South Church in Boston, the Rev. Dr. J. M. Manning, delivered a course of lectures in Andover Theological Seminary, on "Modern Infidelity," and in that

*MIRACLES, PROPHECY, AND INSPIRATION; OR,*

series of discussions, now summarized in the keen and timely volume entitled, "Half Truths and the Truth," he proved, as I think satisfactorily, that Mr. Emerson's earlier writings were pantheistic in tone and substance.

No thorough-going pantheist believes in the personality of God, or in the conscious immortality of the soul.

2. I assert that no such course of lectures could now be delivered in Andover Theological Seminary, and command the general assent of scholars, as the first course did. The reasons why it would not now command that assent are, that Mr. Emerson's last two essays are pronouncedly theistic, and that Mr. Alcott has repeatedly of late called Mr. Emerson a Christian theist, and claimed that he has Mr. Emerson's authority for doing so.

The two essays to which I refer are "The Sovereignty of Ethics," published in the *North American Review*, in 1878; and the "Preacher," in the *Unitarian Review* for January, 1880. Whoever examines these essays, will find almost nothing of the haughty pantheistic tone which runs through Mr. Emerson's earlier writings. Notice that I do not say that Mr. Emerson has changed his views. My two positions are, that Dr. Manning at Andover, twelve years ago, called Mr. Emerson pantheistic, and had the assent of scholars; and that Mr. Alcott at Andover, in 1879, called Mr. Emerson theistic, and had the assent of scholars. Mr. Alcott's testimony has great public interest, for he was the founder of the Concord School of Transcendentalism, a portion of which was pantheistic.

Was Mr. Alcott himself ever a pantheist? Channing wrote, in 1841: "I am happy to say that in my conversation with Transcendental ministers I have seen no Pantheism. Indeed, Mr. Alcott is the only man from whom I heard it."\* Mr. Alcott is now undoubtedly not only a theist, but a Christian theist. He has founded at Concord a Summer School of Philosophy which is thoroughly theistic. The new note in the tone of Concord has come largely from Mr. Alcott, and whereas he once was a pantheist, he now delights to be called a Christian theist. He is to-day a most serious opponent of the Individualism, or Egotheism into which Transcendentalism sometimes degenerated, with grotesque and poisonous results. The change is significant, and I should be unfaithful to my charge as an observer of the signs of the times along the horizons of culture if I were not to tell the public what everybody in Boston knows, that we no longer hear pantheism from Concord.

The revered founder of the Concord School of Philosophy has held

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\* Channing's "Memoirs," Vol. II., p. 449.

OLD TRUTHS IN NEW LIGHTS.

many of his celebrated conversations before gatherings in my rooms. In the very last *symposium* which he led, and when he knew that reporters were present, I asked him privately if he would tell the company what he had previously told the public elsewhere, and what has been already reported again and again, as to Mr. Emerson's theism. He said that he should be happy to perform that excellent service to religious truth. I said: "Correspondents of the press are here, and if you cannot revise what they write, you may be subjected to the annoyance of an incorrect report." "I will trust the facts," was his reply, "to take care of themselves." Mr. Alcott spoke to the company for half an hour with extraordinary impressiveness on "Immortality." He then read to us, in a tone like the sighing of the wind through the pine trees, that sweet and noble poem with which he has lately enriched our literature, and entitled "Love's Morrow." A great bereavement through which the Concord Plato has passed lately, and to which I have no right to refer more definitely, found partial utterance in that poem. I was reminded of Emerson's "Threnody," a production of his earlier period, and in which there is not a glimpse of a hope of immortality. When the reading was finished, Mr. Alcott was asked, "How do you justify your assertion that Emerson is a Christian theist?" Mr. Alcott replied, "Professor Gulliver published in the New York *Independent* an account of my recent address at Andover. In that article the Andover Professor correctly asserted that I called Mr. Emerson a theist and a Christian theist. Before I went West, on my recent lecturing tour, I took that article to Mr. Emerson and read it to him, and asked him if I had misrepresented him. The reply was: 'I do not care to classify myself with any painstaking accuracy with this sect or with that, but if I am to have any appellation at all of a religious kind, I prefer to be called a Christian theist. You have not misrepresented me.'" "On returning from the West," continued Mr. Alcott, "I found that I had been assailed by some rationalistic, anonymous correspondents of an irresponsible press. I went again to my friend and put again to him the same question, and he replied substantially as follows: 'My ancestry is made up of ministers. In my family the Bible is seen oftener than any other book in the hands of my wife and daughter. I think those facts tell my story. If you wish to call me a Christian theist, you have my authority to do so; and you must not leave out the word Christian, for to leave out that is to leave out everything.'"

*PROFESSOR CROOKES AND DR. CARPENTER ON  
PSYCHIC FORCE.*

**THE PRELUDE.—GENERAL GRANT AND A THIRD TERM.**

NAPOLEON I. sneered at the military operations of our Revolutionary era as Lilliputian. Lafayette replied to the proud Emperor that by the skirmishes of sentinels and outposts in America, the greatest cause known to modern history had been carried through to triumph against the most powerful nation of recent times. However small Washington's armies may look, the military operations of our Civil War are not easily dazzled when confronted with anything in Napoleon's career, or in Frederick's, or in Cæsar's, or in Alexander's. There are six reasons for pronouncing General Grant's military career the most brilliant in history.

1. He successfully commanded a million of soldiers for more than a year. No other general known to history, not excepting even Xerxes and Napoleon, ever successfully commanded a million of armed men for an equal period. Xerxes failed in his expedition against Greece; and Napoleon, who marched out of Paris against Russia with 528,000 troops, returned from Moscow with but a wretched remnant of his forces.

2. General Grant opposed his equals in intelligence and military skill; while Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon, for the most part, opposed their inferiors in these particulars. Once the sword of Cæsar was drawn directly against Pompey, and when Roman met Roman, at Pharsalia, and in the final battles of the Triumvirate, Cæsar's skill was put to a severe test; and even when Cæsar met the poorly-armed Germans, they drove him back from the Rhine, on one occasion, in spite of their inferior equipment.

3. General Grant commanded an army extended over wider spaces than were ever covered before his day, by any active armed force known to history. At one and the same time he conducted military operations reaching from Galveston to Richmond. He had, indeed, the modern railways and telegraphs to aid him, but so had his enemy.

4. He acted on his own judgment, without advice from any superior, and in many important cases, against the judgment of his subordinates of the highest rank.

5. His soldiers were, more than three-fourths of them, taken into the army as raw recruits.

6. He never failed. Wellington was driven out of Spain by Napoleon, and Napoleon was driven from Waterloo by Wellington. The army of Frederick the Great was often cut to pieces. General Grant, at Cold Harbour, did not carry the point he attacked; but, at the end of the fight, he was left where he was at

## PSYCHIC FORCE.

the beginning, and his enemy, and not he, ultimately retreated.\* The numbers, the wealth, the intelligence of the Northern States, were the support of General Grant in a righteous cause; but, after making all deductions, history, taking into view the combination of these six extraordinary conditions, is likely to find his military career absolutely unsurpassed.

Except in a great political or military emergency, why is a third term undesirable for General Grant, or any other possible presidential candidate?

1. Plotting for spoils by party managers and placemen, would be immensely stimulated by the opportunity a third term would offer, for the continuance in office of the 100,000 or 200,000 appointed subordinates of the renominated President.

2. A third term would thus intensify party spirit, the chief danger of republics.

3. By enlarging the size of partisan spoils, it would enlarge the temptation to partisan fraud and violence.

4. In fanning the flame of party spirit, and tempting to partisan greed and fraud, a third term would be an impediment in the way of Civil Service reform.

When, in 1832, the spoils system began to come into large practice, on account of a law Congress passed in 1820, Daniel Webster used this language, in a speech at Worcester: "Mr. President, so far as I know, there is no civilized community on earth in which, on a change of rulers, there is such an inquisition for spoils as we have witnessed in this free Republic. When, sir, did any British minister, Whig or Tory, ever make such an inquest? When did he ever take away the daily bread of weighers and gaugers and measurers? Sir, a British minister who should do this, and should afterward show his head in the British House of Commons, would be received by a universal hiss." We are told that some of the cantons in Switzerland continue their chief officers in place indefinitely, and that, therefore, it is not dangerous to representative institutions to give a president a third term. On that lake of Switzerland, where the cantons of Uri and Schwyz come down from the stupendous mountains to the holy water, I have sailed to and fro. Meditating on Swiss independence, I have lingered in Tell's Chapel, on Lake Lucerne, and walked through the Axen Strasse, with the pages of Schiller's "William Tell" open before me. But the public officers in one of the Swiss cantons do not equal in number those in the counties which contain the City of New York or that of Boston. It is utterly futile to compare our immense territory with the little republics of Greece or Switzerland. South America at this moment is full of republics more than half wrecked by a scramble for spoils every time partisan greed and fraud change their hold on the central governments. What Webster said in 1832 would, no doubt, be emphasized by him to-day, were he face to face with our 110,000 appointive officers.

If you had already carried out Civil Service Reform, and reduced your appointive officers to a thousand or five hundred, I am not sure but that then you might elect a President for a third term. Some of you think that the election of a President causes a new scramble for place, and that, therefore, a third term is of value in keeping the peace between parties. Yes; but we must remember that the peace is kept only when the spoils go to the victors, and that the outs will use all measures known to law, and some which are not thus known, to become the ins when two hundred thousand offices are the spoils. If you can carry through the Civil Service Reform, which has been inaugurated in the last twenty-five

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\* See Bishop Gilbert Haven's very suggestive address at Woodstock, Conn., July 4th, 1879, in *The Independent*, for July 10th.

*PROFESSOR CROOKES AND DR. CARPENTER ON*

years, and not take the daily bread away from caulkers and gaugers and small officers, in order to give that food to partisan spoilsmen as a reward for purely partisan service, then, possibly, you may talk with some emphasis about a third term, and not frighten those who see, in a scramble for spoils, the chief difficulty in our crowded and hazardous future. Civil Service Reform has not gone far enough yet to make a third term advisable.

For one, I hold the opinion that, even if we were to change only a thousand or five hundred men in the Civil Service with the incoming of every new President, it would yet be dangerous to introduce into the history of the Republic the precedent of a third term. Not that we are governed by men, rather than by laws; not that our Constitution, after all, does not represent our general custom in politics; but my objection would be that, little by little, there would be gathered about the effort to induct a man into a third term all the political corruption of the Republic. A third presidential term would be a twig cast into a salt sea; and, as in Utah, when a bough hangs over and dips into the great alkaline lake there, it soon gathers out of the apparently crystalline water a massive wrapping of heavy salt, so, if you dip a third term into the sweet and holy sea of our American politics, you will very soon find it laden by alkali so bitter, that you cannot dissolve it and drink it, without death in every drop.

5. A third term, even after the candidate has been out of office one term, is open to grave objections, if the intervening term has been occupied by a presidency of the same political party with that of the candidate; for his placemen will be most of them continued in office by the intervening Administration, and have selfish reasons for supporting his third candidacy. In my native State of New York, for example, most of the placemen in office to-day were appointed by General Grant, and a great part of the clamour for a third term for him, is from placemen who obtained office through his nomination.

6. The judgment of the fathers of the Republic was against a third term, except in great emergencies.

7. The uniform practice of the Republic for a century has been opposed to a third term, and thus our unwritten law is against it.

Go back to the morning of the Republic, and what bugle-sound do we hear lifted up against a third term, and making all the air of those great heights of our national revolutionary era resound with the vibrations of patriotism? Here is language uttered by a man greatly revered by one of the political parties of the United States, and not lacking respect from the other party: "That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution or supplied by practice, his office, nominally, for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative Government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office." So sounds the bugle at the lips of Thomas Jefferson. I know that partisans now affirm that Jefferson did not write this until he found that he could not be elected to a third term. On the contrary, I have more than a little faith that Jefferson was not speaking here as a politician; but as a man who, in the serene and illumined years of the close of his great life had risen out of the region of partisan clamour into that of statesmanship, and

## PSYCHIC FORCE.

expressed not only his own serious views as to policy, but his understanding of the opinion of the fathers of the Republic and of the framers of the Constitution.

8. Great unanimity of opinion among the most important states of the Union has appeared in the resolutions of recent state political conventions against a third term. Hear this Jeffersonian bugle! Pennsylvania, in a Republican convention on the 26th of May, 1875, "*Resolved*, That we declare a firm, unqualified adherence to the unwritten law of the Republic which, wisely and under the sanction of the most venerable of examples, limits the presidential service of any citizen to two terms; and we, the Republicans of Pennsylvania, in recognition of this law, are unalterably opposed to the election to the presidency of any person for a third term." When that resolution was read, a dull audience broke into applause over it, and called out, "Read that again"; and it was read, and endorsed enthusiastically, face to face with a conspiracy of great strength to give a third nomination to the incumbent then in the presidential chair.

On the second day of June, 1875, the Ohio Convention, which nominated Mr. Hayes for governor, put this same bugle to the fathers to its lips, and here are the notes which rolled out above the landscape of our present history: "The observance of Washington's example, in retiring at the close of a second presidential term, will be in the future, as it has been in the past, regarded as a fundamental rule in the unwritten law of the Republic."

New York, stately in her political strength, puts the same bugle to her lips, and on the 9th of September, 1875, says:—"Recognising as conclusive the President's public declaration, that he is not a candidate for renomination, and with the sincerest gratitude for his patriotic services, we declare our unalterable opposition to the election of any President for a third term."

Iowa, in the Mississippi Valley, takes up the same strain, Wisconsin echoes the notes over the Great Lake, and Massachusetts answers the West. Hear what they affirm. Iowa said:—"The Republican party of Iowa opposes a third term and believes that President Grant's letter to General White fairly removes that issue from our politics." Wisconsin resolved "That we accept with approbation the letter of President Grant, discouraging the continuance in office of any magistrate of the nation for a longer period than two terms." Massachusetts said:—"That sound reason, as well as the wise and unbroken usage of the Republic, illustrated by the example of Washington, requires that the term of the Chief Magistrate of the United States should not exceed a second term."

You think I have no right to touch this theme; but I turn to recent words from one of the bravest friends of the people this city contains, a man who has been the salvation of portions of Massachusetts politics again and again. I find James Freeman Clarke, whom may God bless for it, uttering himself in this language:—"The moment that any man shall be elected, in spite of custom, for a third term, what will be the result? All office-holders holding under him, will be tempted to unite to have him re-elected as long as he lives. The whole of the four years of each term will be largely occupied by them, in arranging for his election for another. The machine is already so strong that it often sets aside and disregards the will of the people. Let the present attempt of these wire-pullers, succeed, and their power can hardly be taken from them without a revolution." Similar opinions have recently been expressed in Massachusetts by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, President Seelye, President Chadbourne, and President Capen, and by scores of the leaders of mercantile and industrial life of this not thoughtless, nor unpatriotic commonwealth.

9. General Grant himself has taken the Jeffersonian bugle and blown a blast.



## PROFESSOR CROOKES AND DR. CARPENTER ON

on it which should echo from Plymouth Rock to the Golden Gate. May 26th, 1875, he wrote to the Pennsylvania Republican Convention : " I would not accept a nomination [to a third term], if it were tendered, unless it were to come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise." And our present Chief Magistrate was elected after he had written a letter pledging himself against a third term, and even against a second.

10. Great unanimity of opinion against a third term exists throughout the nation, as represented by the highly-significant congressional vote of 253 to 18 in favour of the celebrated Springer resolution of December 15th, 1875. Here is the Jeffersonian bugle at the lips of the whole land : "*Resolved*, That, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our Republican system of Government, and that any departure from this time-honoured custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

## THE LECTURE.

WHEN Galvani, by his experiments in causing the legs of dead frogs to twitch, on the application of galvanism, had discovered the great natural force which now bears his name, his statements as to the results he had reached were utterly discredited, and he was commonly called the frogs' dancing-master. Replying to his critics, he said that he had two classes of men to contend with : the conservative leaders of science, who could learn nothing new ; and unscientific literary people, who knew everything already. Sixteen years less than two hundred years ago, Samuel Sewall, one of the most revered judges of the early days of Massachusetts, stood up in his pew in a church on this very spot in Boston, while his confession of contrition was read for his share in the witchcraft delusion of 1692. Heaven forbid that I, this morning, should make myself a servitor of superstition, and thus create for myself need of making an apology like that of Judge Sewall ! Heaven forbid, also, that I should take such a position as to place myself in either of the classes ridiculed by the frogs' dancing-master ! Absolute freedom of thought, straightforwardness like that of a sunbeam, calmness like that of the radiance which beats into this house in the noon-hour, I ask from myself and from you, as, in crossing the vexed and treacherous sea of modern discussion concerning occult natural forces, I attempt to avoid both Galvani's Scylla and Judge Sewall's Charybdis.

Allow me to describe in detail three experiments which have fixed upon themselves scientific attention in Great Britain and Germany, and, after nearly nine years of debate among experts, have not yet been explained in accordance with any known natural law.

### PSYCHIC FORCE.

Suppose that I have here a table, and that I place beneath it a bottomless basket, so high that it will just slip under, but too close to the table to allow of the hand being introduced into the interior, or to admit of a foot being pushed beneath it. Suppose that I have constructed the basket myself, and wound it with coils of wire connected with a galvanic battery. This cage under my table has no loop-holes in its sides, through which a hand can pass. Mr. Home, of London, a man known for marvellous power as a medium, I now visit in his own residence. I see him change his dress, and know that he has concealed about his person no machinery, apparatus, or contrivance of any sort. I bring him to my residence, and he meets there my chemical assistant, and Mr. Serjeant Cox, a well-known lawyer, and Professor Huggins, an eminent physicist, high in the ranks of the Royal Society. Mr. Home sits down in a low easy chair at the side of the table. The cage is in front of him under the table, and his feet on either side of the cage. One observer sits close to him on his left, and another close to him on his right. I now take an accordion, which I bought myself at Wheatstone's, in Conduit Street, in London, and, having opened the bass key and pulling the cage from under the table, I place the instrument, bottom upward and keys downward, in the cage. Mr. Home takes hold of the bottom with the thumb and middle finger of one hand, and the cage is shoved back as closely as his wrist will permit, but without hiding his hand from those next to him. Mr. Home's other hand is on the table. The accordion in the cage in this position begins to play. Mr. Home's feet are held by those nearest him. Observers watch all that happens under the table. The accordion in the cage plays a simple air: Its keys move in harmonious succession, and yet are not touched.

This is what Professor Crookes asserts that he did in 1871. This is the famous experiment which he brought before the English public, and which to this hour has not been explained. I am far from affirming that it proves the action of disembodied spirits. You will draw that inference for yourselves, if you draw it at all. There is, however, the fact; and the question is whether it can be explained without supposing that there is a force connected with the human organization, such as to move matter without physical contact.

No one has more loathing for the rubbish published by Spiritualists than I have; but the English book by Professor Crookes, detailing his experiments, is a thoroughly calm and cool production. Professor Crookes is a Fellow of the Royal Society. He is the editor of the *Quarterly Journal of Science*. He was the discoverer of the new

*PROFESSOR CROOKES AND DR. CARPENTER ON*

metal called thalium. It is nowhere pretended that Professor Huggins, who was present when the experiment with the accordion in the cage was tried, and publishes a letter here endorsing Professor Crookes' statement, is other than a trustworthy man in scientific circles. He expresses no opinion as to the cause of the motions, but says that Professor Crookes correctly states the facts. So says also Serjeant Cox, in a published letter.

Another form of the experiment consisted in Mr. Home removing his hand altogether from the accordion, which was left in the cage. Mr. Home's hand was placed in the hand of the person next to him. "The instrument," says Professor Crookes, "then continued to play, no person touching it, and no hand being near it." \* The Professor now passed electricity through the wires wound around the cage; but the results were the same as the previous ones. Mr. Home took hold of the accordion as before, and it commenced to play, at first chords and runs, and then a well-known sweet and plaintive melody, which it executed perfectly, and in a very beautiful manner.

So much for the famous crucial experiment of the untouched accordion playing in a cage. Similar feats, it is said, have been often performed on this side of the Atlantic; but I do not know where, except in "Professor Crookes's Journal," I can find a scientific statement from any observer of acknowledged professional eminence in respect to such an occurrence.

Again and again, and with other mediums, if you will allow me to employ that term under protest, Professor Crookes caused the accordion to produce music without being touched.

The second experiment I am to describe was performed first in America, by Professor Hare, of Philadelphia; but, as it was never described here in detail in a scientific journal, although it was once partially discussed before the American Association for the Advancement of Science, I am obliged to depend upon British scientific evidence as to this remarkable illustration of some unknown force in the human organism.

Let us suppose that here is a table [illustrating on the black-board], which you see in a side view. Here is a mahogany board, thirty-six inches long, nine and a half inches wide, and one inch thick. At each end a strip of mahogany one and a half inches wide has been screwed on, forming feet. One of these feet rests on the edge of this table, and the other is supported by a spring balance hanging from a substantial tripod stand. The balance has a self-registering index. The mahogany board weighs three pounds, and

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\* "Phenomena of Spiritualism," London, 1874, p. 8.

### PSYCHIC FORCE.

the apparatus is so adjusted that the board is horizontal. The dead point of the mahogany lever is under *this* line [pointing]. I arrange the apparatus in my own room, and call on Mr. Home to visit me. He comes in, and puts his hands upon the very tip of the board furthest from the balance [pointing]. He is watched, so that he cannot push his fingers beyond the dead-point. When I put my fingers in the same position, I cannot make the balance sink. I stand on the table and step on this lever, not carrying the heel beyond the dead-point, and my whole weight does not produce the slightest motion in the index-point. Professor Crookes says, that when Mr. Home came into his office, he did not know what this machinery meant. He put his fingers on the dead-point of the lever, waited awhile, and when what he called power came upon him, the lever sank, and the index indicated that a weight of several pounds had been applied at the bottom of the balance.

Over and over that result was obtained ; and this is one of the famous experiments in discussion between Professor Crookes and Dr. W. B. Carpenter.

I am obliged to ask you to enter into a little detail here, because detail is necessary in order to carry general conviction. A vague, indefinite description is worthless in accounts of scientific experiments ; and, therefore, I must ask you to notice the different forms in which this experiment was carried through by Professor Crookes and his assistants. Suppose that I place on the dead-point over the centre, as exactly as possible, a vessel which I fill with water. By an iron support, which does not touch the lever or the vessel, I suspend a shallower and smaller vessel inside the larger. The smaller has holes in its bottom, and admits the water [illustrating on black-board]. The medium puts his hands into that inner vessel, thus having no direct contact with the lever, and unable to exert pressure upon the dead-point. In this condition of the apparatus, that hook on the bottom of the balance is drawn down with a weight of six or nine pounds. When this machinery is made more complicated, and a clock set to work, so that, on a glass peculiarly prepared, a self-registering apparatus marks the amount of weight added to the further end of the lever, the imposition of the hands in the water above the dead-point, causes a sinking of the lever just as before. Every precaution was used by Professor Crookes to prevent unconscious muscular action of the medium by whom these motions were produced.

Through that apparatus, Professor Crookes claims to have discovered a new power in Nature, which he calls the Psychic Force.

*PROFESSOR CROOKES AND DR. CARPENTER ON*

It should be noticed here, that Dr. W. B. Carpenter heard an imperfect account of Crookes's experiment, and supposed that the Professor asserted that putting the hands into water, and displacing a portion of it, exerted no pressure upon the vessel containing the water. I think you can satisfy yourselves easily that Dr. Carpenter, when he made that objection to this experiment, did not understand the final forms under which the experiment was carried out. The very interesting correspondence between himself and Professor Crookes, amounts only to saying that, when you displace water by dipping your hands in it, you really do produce pressure on the bottom of the vessel containing it. Professor Crookes knew that as well as Dr. Carpenter, and he removed his vessel of water entirely from the apparatus, and the same results were obtained. The medium's hands were placed on the table, near the end of the mahogany lever, but not touching it; and again and again the index showed that force was exerted on the lever. Professor Crookes and his assistants, on their honour as men of science, say that, when the hands were six inches from the lever, the force was exerted just as it was before.

Then the hands were placed on the iron bar [illustrating], which had held up the vessel of water previously, without touching the lever at all; and the index showed again the addition of weight. The self-regulating apparatus yonder, was made to hold a pencil to mark the movement of the further end of the lever. Professor Crookes publishes delineations of the lines which that pencil drew. They are all given here in his famous articles, with accuracy in scientific detail. Huxley says that, when any disputed physical fact is brought before him, he wants diagrams and minute measurements to confirm it. You can have these, if you choose to study the figures illustrating this experiment, and the details about the machinery, and the foot pounds of pressure exerted on the balance.

Of course, Dr. Carpenter's objections do not apply at all to the second and third form of this experiment. The explanation attempted by Professor William A. Hammond, of the University of the City of New York, is not satisfactory as to the first form, and does not touch the second and third form at all. As to the experiment with the accordion, his suggested explanation is so surprisingly inadequate, that a serious reader must be tempted to consider it evasive. Professor Hammond speaks with the utmost respect of Professor Crookes, and Professor Huggins, as observers of facts.\*

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\* See the suggestive volume entitled, "Spiritualism and Allied Causes and Conditions of Nervous Derangement," by Professor Hammond. New York, Putnam, 1876. Pp. 101-116.

### PSYCHIC FORCE.

I hold that, after nine years of discussion, nobody has explained Professor Crookes's experiment with the balance; and that he is justified in claiming that such facts as he has observed and recorded, deserve the attention of the scientific world.

This last experiment was submitted to the British Association for the Advancement of Science, in a report from Professor Crookes, which was introduced into one of the sections of a meeting of that Association. It appears to have been rather favourably considered in the section-room; but was bitterly attacked by individuals there, and so was not fairly brought before the Association. The *Quarterly Review* has fired several heavy broadsiders at Professor Crookes's experiments, and there have been any number of newspaper squibs on the subject. Dr. Carpenter has not only attacked this experiment, but refused to correct his statements concerning it, even after Professor Crookes had courteously shown him their inaccuracy; and that is one point which has embittered the discussion in England. Professor Crookes and Mr. Wallace, on the one side, and Dr. Carpenter, on the other, have been engaged in an almost hand-to-hand intellectual conflict for three years.\* One of the chief charges against Dr. Carpenter is that he was disingenuous. I have here before me a letter from Dr. Carpenter, in which he says that he received his information concerning Crookes's experiments by hearsay. Dr. Carpenter has never admitted that he has seen any account of those two forms of the experiment when the hands had no contact at all with the lever. It is this shutting of eyes to evidence which has drawn down upon the venerable Professor the charge of disingenuousness from men like Crookes and Wallace. The experiment has been repeated over and over by Wallace. I am told it has been performed again and again in this country. Professor Crookes himself gives great credit to our American Professor Hare for having first introduced to the attention of men of science this experiment of the lever and balance.

There are only three experiments on which I dare rest my weight in the whole series of British observations of the phenomena of Spiritualism. Two of them I have described, and the third was performed by the London Dialectical Society, in 1871. Here is a large British dining-table, probably weighing more than a hundred pounds. Ladies and gentlemen—eleven in number—of the first sub-committee of the London Dialectical Society, sit around it. They

\* See "Mesmerism, Spiritualism, etc., Historically and Scientifically Considered," by Dr. Carpenter. Republished in New York, Appleton & Co., 1877. See also the replies by Wallace and Crookes, in *Quarterly Journal of Science and Fraser's Magazine*, 1877.

*PROFESSOR CROOKES AND DR. CARPENTER ON*

wait forty minutes. Motions and sounds occur. They have no professed medium in their number. They think that it is not certain that the touch of their clothing, feet, or hands may not have moved this heavy table; and so, by a stroke of genius, they invent a very searching experiment. The ladies and gentlemen rise and reverse their chairs, placing their backs to the table. Eleven chairs stand thus around the table. The observers then kneel in these chairs, and hold their hands above the table, four inches from it. In this way the feet of the company are thrown away from the table; the back of a chair is between each person and the table; and so, when care is taken not to touch the table at all, holding the hands inches above it, the probability, one would say, is very great that Faraday's explanation, of unconscious muscular action, will not account for the motion of the table. Untouched, in less than a minute, that table moves four inches to one side and twelve to the other, and then moves four to six inches in other directions. That is the first form of the experiment. Then the ladies and gentlemen, kneeling on the chairs as previously, put their hands on the back rounds of the chairs, further off than before and a foot from it. The table then moves five times over spaces of from four to six inches. The whole room is lighted brilliantly by gas during the experiment. Every opportunity was given to those walking around the group of observers to notice that there was no one under the table and no one touching it in any way.

A third form of this experiment was to place the chairs twelve inches from the table, and then kneel in the chairs as before and lock the hands behind the back. One would suppose that in these circumstances the movement of the table by what Dr. Carpenter calls unconscious muscular action would be impossible. Here is another crucial experiment, and, though it is not performed by those who have had scientific training in every particular, I claim that the facts recorded by the Dialectical Society are worthy of attention, as the outcome of most careful observation. When these eleven persons were thus kneeling, with their hands behind them, and eighteen inches from the table, the heavy object moved four times in various directions, and several times took the course requested by individual members of the group of observers. In the course of half an hour the table moved thirteen times without contact, and often according to request.\*

You now say that, if these facts are as I have stated them, they

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\* See "Report on Spiritualism" of the Committee of the London Dialectical Society, London, 1871, pp. 7-18.

### *PSYCHIC FORCE.*

ought to have fixed the attention of the whole world ; and yet a few of you, it may be, hear of them for the first time to-day. They have caused a controversy in England, and have fixed the attention of scientific men in Germany. Although these experiments are very far from proving the action of disembodied spirits, they are regarded by many cool men of science, who do not express their opinions except privately, as proving that there is a new force to be investigated.

If, as Professor Crookes affirms, and as our American President Mahan long ago taught, there is a Psychic Force, or, as it used to be called, an odyllic force, which explains, at least, a part of the manifestations called spiritual, you will not blame me for emphasizing these strategic outlines of a current scientific controversy.

Perhaps most of you will admit that physical bodies may be moved without contact in certain states of the physical system, when what is called the Psychic Force is exerted.

A part of the din of the British controversy as to Spiritualism relates to the alleged exposure of our American Dr. Slade, in England, as a rogue and vagabond. Professor Ulrici and Professor Zöllner think it important to reply to the accusations brought against Slade, for he was the man employed in the experiments lately made at Leipzig.

Professor Lankester, a determined materialist, and Dr. Donkin, on the basis of their experience with him in one of his experiments, charged Slade with being a rogue and vagabond, and he was convicted in London and sentenced in England to several weeks' hard labour for his alleged trickery. He was excused from imprisonment, but not exactly exonerated, for he got free because certain technical terms were not in the indictment against him. "By palmistry or otherwise" was a phrase left out of a legal description of his supposed crime, and on account of that informality the indictment was quashed. Professor Wallace and others defend Slade : but England does not believe in Slade to-day, although he won the confidence of several of the professors of Leipzig University. There is a strong social and scientific party in England, however, which looks with respect on the experiments of the London Dialectical Society, and on Professor Crookes's famous proof that physical movement of bodies may occur without the contact of man's touch with the object themselves.

Straightforwardness ; no evasion and no credulity ; no materialistic unbelief, on the one hand ; no superstition on the other ! Let this be the motto of our investigations. Do not let the magic of the thought of the Unseen settle as yet upon this audience. I wish you



### *PSYCHIC FORCE.*

would keep yourselves as cool as if you were investigating the sands in the middle of the Desert of Sahara, and not ask here and now whether the gates have been opened into the eternal world. Up to the middle of my argument, I wish to keep you in the dry light of science. The sorcery which misleads hundreds and thousands is the desire to have the gates opened into the Unseen. Take only what exact investigation offers you ; and if you thus prove any conclusion, it will be worth all the more when it is established ; and if you disprove anything, your deliverance from superstition will be all the more perfect. And that deliverance ought to be sought with prayer and bloody sweat by multitudes in our perplexed and headlong modern day who are captured by trickery, deceived by coarse impersonations of departed spirits, and in danger of being wrecked morally by the evil inculcations characteristic of radical and leprous followers of Spiritualism.

## *THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.*

### THE PRELUDE.—SECRETARY SCHURZ AND THE INDIAN QUESTION.

It is one of the delicious secrets of Boston society that when, on the banks of the Charles, the poet Longfellow first met the Indian maiden Bright Eyes, he lassoed one of her hands in both of his, looked down into her face, and after an appreciable interval, said : "This is Minnehaha." At Washington, when President Hayes met Bright Eyes, he drew her from a talkative company into a corner of a great reception-room, and after an hour's conversation, came back and presented her to her friends with the remark that the President of the United States and Miss Bright Eyes are agreed on the Indian question.

It is at last safe to say that the churches are aroused to the fact that the worst set of savages on our frontier is the pickpocket tribe, and that they are all whites. It would not be safe to affirm that politics are aroused to the full significance of this fact, and yet the whole aspect of the Indian question, thank God ! has changed in politics within a year.

On the banks of the Missouri, last May, it was my fortune to meet the brave Omaha editor who had just brought the case of Standing Bear before Judge Dundy. Mr. Tibbles insisted on introducing me to an Indian girl, of whom he said nothing more than that she was the daughter of Iron Eye, a chief of the Omaha tribe. I was rushing, at the moment, to catch the Overland train, and felt that interruption was in some sense an impertinence ; but I had not seen Bright Eyes more than fifteen minutes before I had advised her guardian to bring her to the Atlantic Coast, introduce her to Mr. Phillips and to Boston, and to appeal from the courts to the people, from the tomahawk to the platform, press, and parlour, and thus endeavour to arouse, by agitation, a public sentiment which might effect something at Washington. Mr. Tibbles followed that course, and probably nothing of late has more thoroughly united this city than sympathy for the Indian cause.

It is the glory of Boston that from the hour of her birth she has thought more of ideas and great principles than of anything material in our civilization. She has never been dazzled by the candlestick ; but has always reserved her reverence for the candle. It is the glory of Boston, for instance, when the great principle of total abstinence is assailed in quarters otherwise respectable, that she is moved far more than New York would be, or perhaps any other city in the United States ; and she is not to be called a village on that account, but rather a queenly city of the soul, as she is, loyal to principle, and feeling a stain like a wound. Just so on the point of justice to the Indian ; this city was more open to appeal than any other in the United States. Certain it is that the parlour and the pulpit, the press, and the platform, were united here, and one can hardly say which of the four

## THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF

great instrumentalities did the most to push to the front the discussion of the Indian question from the point of view of the Indian himself.

The Secretary of the Interior, at Washington, had the audacity to write to this city and request that a committee should be appointed to come to the Potomac, and to put a telescope to its eyes, and a microscope at the end of the telescope, and endeavour to ascertain if there is in existence now, under a reformed administration, anything like an Indian ring. A committee, with an ex-governor of Massachusetts at its head, and with one of the brave philanthropic merchants of Boston as its secretary and treasurer, the latter not by any means the office of a sinecure, was appointed, and the secretary went to Washington. Shortly after, the chief of the pickpocket tribe was found in the Indian Bureau as commissioner. He has been deposed. An Indian ring was discovered, as the result of the agitation upon this subject ; but it was welded so closely about the neck of the Secretary of the Interior that it was invisible under his beard. With German honesty, Carl Schurz tore off the ring. Perhaps it was the great German heart in him, attaching him to his own appointee, that blinded him somewhat to the misdeeds of the Indian Commissioner whom he deposed, and did not allow to resign. Although the Secretary of the Interior tore an Indian ring from his neck, and now breathes and thinks more freely, I must tell him that a ring found underneath the beard of any public official, and unseen by the official himself, is not a Gyges ring ; it does not make the wearer invisible.

What do I want more than Secretary Schurz is willing to grant now on the Indian question ? Two things. First, a decision by the Supreme Court of the case of Standing Bear, and of the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment in its application to Indians. Second, a provision of law, that after Indians have been assigned lands in severality, they shall have power to protect themselves in the possession of it, and in all the rights which the Fourteenth Amendment, in letter and in spirit, guarantees.

Legal cases, instituted to secure justice to Indian tribes, have been turned out of the United States Courts. To this fact Secretary Schurz points, and so discourages the effort of Boston and Omaha to carry a new case up to the Supreme Court. Nevertheless, something has happened since General Scott drove the Cherokees out of Georgia. The Fourteenth Amendment has been passed. Judge Dundy has given a decision that an Indian is a person, and that the *habeas corpus* act can be applied to protect his life, liberty, and property. In California the Fourteenth Amendment has been used to shield the Chinese from sand-lot ruffians. Although neither Indians nor Mongolians are citizens, it has been decided that they are *persons*, and as such, entitled to the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment, which requires that no person, whether citizen or not, shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law. These events change the case of the Indians before the Supreme Court. It is no proof at all that a suit will not now succeed, to point us, as Secretary Schurz does, to the fact that the Supreme Court, before the Fourteenth Amendment was passed, rejected the claim of the Cherokees.

The Secretary of the Interior has written certain letters to a noble lady, Mrs. Jackson, whose eloquent articles in defence of the Indian cause have already become a part of standard literature on the subject, and he affirms that he does not see how a suit in defence of the rights of Standing Bear and those whom he represents, can be brought before the Supreme Court. I have letters here from one of the very highest judicial authorities in the land, whom I am not permitted to name, and he says there are a dozen ways in which such a suit can be brought

### THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.

before the highest tribunal of the land. If I could give you my authority for the legal assertions I am about to make, you would respect it much more highly than that of the Secretary of the Interior himself. The letter I hold in my hand is from a specialist who has given to this case years of attention.

It may be true that the Indians, as a tribe, cannot sue in the Federal Court to recover a reservation, because there may be nobody on it or in possession of any part of it to be sued. Of course, the Government cannot be sued, because the law does not permit this. The Government may exclude all persons from the land in question. But simply because the Government cannot be sued, as stated, it does not by any means follow that a suit may not be instituted to test the validity of the whole matter involved in the controversy. Suppose the Poncas should go upon their old reservation ostensibly for the purpose of remaining there. The Government official would then arrest and remove them as trespassers on an Indian reservation. The law authorizes the use of military forces for this purpose, and trespassers are frequently removed. It is the duty of the arresting officer to convey the alleged offender to the nearest United States Court for trial. The offender must be turned over to the civil authorities for that purpose. When that is done, a *habeas corpus* could issue against the arresting officer, or the whole question could be raised on proceedings to be instituted by the District Attorney, representing the Government, when acting against the trespasser.

The right of an Indian to appear in court is settled until Judge Dundy's decision is reversed. At Washington much comment was made on what was called the new departure of Judge Dundy, in regard to the laws concerning Indians; but after mature and careful deliberation, many and very many have settled down to the conclusion that the decision was right. It is understood that the Honourable Secretary of the Interior is of this opinion, and that the Attorney General agrees with him.

It is claimed by some friends of the Indian that the Fourteenth Amendment makes him a citizen. The language of the amendment is that all persons born within the United States, or subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens. Now, it is true that the territories have been decided to be portions of the United States, and that most of the Indians are born in the territories. It is not true, however, that the Indians are "born subject," in the full sense, "to the jurisdiction of the United States." They are not completely subject to that jurisdiction while they maintain their independent, or semi-independent tribal relations. It is granted that we make laws for the Indians in several particulars, but the government recognizes their tribal relations, and so their semi-independence. It is this peculiar state of the Indian as a ward that has puzzled our statesmen. While the tribal relations are kept up and the government recognizes it, we cannot claim that the Indian is a citizen under the Fourteenth Amendment, for he is not *born* directly subject to the laws of the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment, however, makes such a broad distinction between *citizen* and *person* that a man may safely take Judge Dundy's position, and assert that although no man can prove that the Indian is now a citizen, it is the easiest thing in the world to prove that he is a person, and as such, under both the Fourteenth Amendment and the Revised Statutes that have been passed in accordance with it, is entitled to the protection of life, liberty, and property by the forms of law administered in the Supreme Court. I affirm, first, that the Indian has a right to come into the Federal courts when he is wronged, under the laws of the United States; and, secondly, that in all other cases he may come into the State Courts for that purpose.

## THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF

Secretary Schurz does not advise the carrying of Standing Bear's case up to the Supreme Court. The public does. Judge Dundy does. Lawyers who have given the most attention to the case, do. The philanthropists who have raised funds for the protection of the Indians in their rights are all eager to have this matter decided before the Supreme Court. My first demand is that you should agree with the Boston idea, and not with the Secretary of the Interior, and continue to push your claim for justice for Standing Bear and all whom he represents, before the highest tribunal of the land.

When the appeal was made to the courts in behalf of Standing Bear, the Indian Bureau said that no case could be brought; but a case was brought and won. It is the same Bureau which now says the case cannot be carried up to the Supreme Court.

The next thing I want, which Secretary Schurz does not appear willing to grant, is the substance of the following amendment to the bill now before Congress. The general details of the bill presented to the House Indian Committee have been approved by your Boston Committee, and also by the Secretary of the Interior. Bright Eyes and Standing Bear, who sat on this platform a few weeks ago, have been cross-examined by Congress. The Ponca delegation and Mr. Tibbles are agreed with Carl Schurz in support of the bill before Congress, except that Bright Eyes and Standing Bear, and White Eagle and Iron Eye, and Mr. Tibbles, still demand one further guarantee.

The object of the rejected amendment is to give the Indian opportunity to protect his title to land.

Any Indian settled upon an allotment according to the provisions of this act, shall have the same right, in every State and Territory, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be a party, give evidence, and to the full and equal benefit of all laws and proceedings for the security of persons and property, as enjoyed by white citizens; and no Indian so settled upon an allotment, shall be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, and no State or Territory shall pass or enforce any law denying any such Indian within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law.

You say that the bill now before Congress secures enough without this amendment. Listen to Bright Eyes on that question:

Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Hotel, February 28, 1880.

REV. JOSEPH COOK:

DEAR SIR:—There are two bills before Congress, one to move the Poncas back to their land and pay them fifty thousand dollars, and the other to give each Indian of every tribe an allotment of land and give him a patent to it. Neither of them have, however, been reported from the Committees. There is no telling when they will be passed. Our object is to make Congress give to every Indian a title to his land, and give him the protection of the law, so that his land cannot be taken from him by an executive order, or any of his property without process of law.

This maiden has a strange facility in coining epigrammatic sentences. She opens an article in a recent New York paper with this most incisive remark: "The solution of the Indian question is citizenship." But she does not deal in generalities, and here is another sentence which goes to the heart of the case:

A title to land is of no use to a man unless he can protect it in the courts.

The Committee of Investigation has only brought into stronger light the wrongs and outrages committed on the helpless, defenceless Poncas. The cross-examination of the government official who was responsible for the deed was masterly, and he was made to show, from his own testimony, the pitiless cruelty exercised in their removal. Such cases as this have happened, and will happen again and

## THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.

again, as long as the Indian has not the protection of the law, but is subject to the will of one man.

Let me contrast the civilization which Longfellow represents with the barbarism of the border. As he lassoed Bright Eyes' hand, border ruffians on horseback sometimes lasso Indian girls by their necks with ropes, draw their prey to the saddle bow, and ride off into the forest.

"When an executive order," continues Bright Eyes, "can rob a man of all he has, and outrage every right of manhood," and womanhood, she might have said, "and there is no redress, and no Indian can make an appeal for help except to the executive who gives the order, I wonder that any one can hesitate to give him the protection of the law, and extend the jurisdiction of the courts over him."

One of Bright Eyes' epigrams is that law is liberty.

"The objection made is that an Indian is incapable of taking care of himself, and therefore ought not to be a citizen. If true, it is a curious fact that might be looked into by ethnologists and scientists, that the Indian is the only human being on the face of the earth who is incapable of being a citizen because he cannot take care of himself. Perhaps he is an isolated species of mankind. The tables of the Government reports, however, show that the *moral condition* of the Indians compares *favourably* with that of the neighbouring illiterate whites. Fifteen tribes compare favourably, twelve are as good, thirteen superior, three inferior. The balance of the account is in favour of the Indians.

"The fatal mistake of the Government," so Bright Eyes concludes, "has been in taking care of the Indian and feeding him like a child, instead of making him take care of himself, like a man. The more you help a man, the more you degrade him; the more you make a man help himself, the more you elevate him. Experience is the best of teachers, and I might say, the best of civilizers. The Indian has been denied the lesson of experience. When the Government accepts the teaching of history that *self-help is the only agency that elevates men*, and gives to the Indian rights accorded to every other race, the Indian problem will be solved."

"BRIGHT EYES."

It is no part of the purpose of the friends of the Indians to fence off a little fresh water in the middle of the Atlantic. We would break up the reservation and tribal system; we would give the Indians full title to land; we would absorb them gradually into the body of self-supporting and self-protecting citizens. The final demands of your Boston Committee are those of the best statesmanship:

1. That the solemn treaties and pledges of the Government to the Indians be in all cases honestly and promptly fulfilled.
2. That the Indian be recognized not only as a *person*, but as a *fellow-citizen*, entitled to the protection of the law, and as so made amenable to it, and that he enjoy all the privileges accorded to all other persons and citizens.
3. That the present reservations now granted to the Indians, whether by treaty, executive order, or otherwise, be ceded to them by absolute title, inalienable for twenty-five years, except upon a vote of three-fourths of the male adults of the tribe, subject to the consent of the Government.
4. That individual Indians should have the same privileges in selecting allotments that other persons enjoy, and that titles should be granted to them upon the same conditions, with this exception only, that these lands shall be in alienable for twenty-five years.

It is our confident belief that these measures *alone* will solve the so-called Indian problem; and that it will be easily solved if we deal with it in a spirit of justice, humanity and truth.

THOMAS TALBOT,  
F. O. PRINCE,  
RUFUS ELLIS,  
JOHN W. CANDLER,  
WILLIAM H. LINCOLN,  
Committee.

## THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF

Standing Bear, who came to this platform only a few hours after he had heard of the death of his brother, had then, as you remember, a face of inexpressible sorrow. Only of late has Congress been told how the brother of Standing Bear died. Twice he had been arrested for no adequate cause. A merely technical offence put him in danger of being sent once more to prison. Soldiers were employed, and they tried to seize Big Snake, but he threw them all off. He opened his robes and showed his assailants that he had no weapon. He said he did not wish to go to jail, and would rather die previously. The officer called for handcuffs and more soldiers, but the Indian threw them all off. More soldiers came in; and one of them struck him in the face with the butt of his rifle. Overpowered by numbers, the Indian was thrust against a wall, and a soldier put the muzzle of his rifle to the unarmed man's head and shot him through the brain. His back was against the wall, and as the bullet went through him it went through the wall, and passed close to another Ponca outside. "After he was dead," so says an eye-witness under oath before Congress, "I examined his clothing and found no weapon about him." The man who was bereaved in that way of a brother, as dear to him as any brother of yours is to any one of you, writes to me in most touching, simple, dignified syllables :

Most of my people are in the Indian Territory, and if they stay another year there, but few of them will be left. It is nearly three years since I have been allowed to do anything for myself. It is almost time to plow and plant again. I am very tired of travelling from place to place. I have told the people of many cities, and the men in Washington who make the laws, of the wrong done us, and now they all know it. I can do no more. I wish to return to my family and to go to work for myself. We are a very weak people, and your people are very strong. I have done all I can do. I have told you of our wrongs and asked justice of your people. I am very tired of waiting. We shall never forget what you have done for us.

STANDING BEAR.

Let us call to this house John Elliot, once more; let us demand, in the name of the historic spirits which make this temple the Santa Croce of New England, a William Penn as a permanent fixture in the Indian Bureau. Let us adopt as our unflinching resolve, entire loyalty to the exhortation of our own Longfellow :—

Ye whose hearts are fresh and simple,  
Who believe that in all ages  
Every human heart is human;  
And that feeble hands and helpless,  
Groping blindly in the darkness,  
Touch God's right hand in that darkness,  
And are lifted up and strengthened;—  
Listen to this simple story,  
To this song of Minnehaha!

## THE LECTURE.

It is a felicity that I am able to present to this audience to-day an account of certain experiments in psychography observed by myself, and conducted under conditions more severe than were complied with in the analogous investigations on the same subject by the German Professors at Leipzig. All my life I have had, I hope, not only a healthful shyness, but a horror of quacks. Of all quacks, however, the Theological, or the Spiritualistic quack, who stands between heaven and earth, to trade in men's fear of hell, and hopes of heaven, has had the most of my loathing. I have, therefore,

## THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.

never visited any so-called medium, and perhaps I never shall, unless forced to do so by some exigency of scientific research. On the occasion I am about to describe, I did not go to any medium's rooms; for, if I had done so, I should feel like making an apology to this assembly. I went to the house of one of your oldest citizens, a gentleman who, as editor and author, has earned, and commands, the respect of the nation. On invitation, I consented to meet, in the library of Mr. Epes Sargent, a psychic of whom I had heard various reports, some of them not altogether reassuring. I took with me my family physician, and my wife, and a friend of hers, a lady who herself had performed psychical experiments for Mrs. Stowe. I had also the assistance of this lady's husband, an acute editor, who has earned an excellent reputation as an exposé of psychical frauds. In the company of nine persons who witnessed the phenomena, there were four believers and five unbelievers in Spiritualism. The experiments, which filled an evening, had satisfactory and unsatisfactory traits, and consisted in the production of so-called spirit-writing by a pencil wholly untouched.

The following were the satisfactory points:

1. Five strong gas jets, four in a chandelier over the table, and one in a central position on the table, were burning all the while in the library where the experiments took place.

2. At no time were the slates, on which the abnormal writing was produced, taken from the sight of any one of the nine persons who watched them. The writing was not done, as was Slade's, in London and at Leipzig, on slates held under a table.

3. The utmost care was taken by all the observers to see that the slates were perfectly clean just before they were closed.

4. During the first experiment nine persons clasped each one hand or two, over and under the two slates. The psychic's hands were among the others, and he certainly did not remove his hands from this position while the sound of the writing was heard.

5. Each observer had written on a scrap of paper, given him by the psychic, the name of a deceased friend, and a question addressed to the person named. All the scraps were folded into tight small pellets and placed in a group on the table, and then mixed, until I could not tell my pellets from others in the collection. Half-a-dozen of the names were correctly given by the psychic, while the pellets remained unopened.

No opinion is ventured here as to the method by which he obtained this knowledge. One of the two pellets which I had thrown into the group contained the following words: "Warner Cook. In what year was my father born?" I put in one question which could be answered by any one who could read my thoughts. I put in another which could not be thus answered, for I did not know the answer to it.

The psychic, who certainly had not seen me fold or write the pellet, for he was not in the room at the time, told me correctly the name it contained, which was that of my grandfather. He told, also, correctly the name in the second pellet. I thought this, perhaps, merely a case of mind-reading. The psychic wrote on a slate: "I wish you to know



### THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF

that I can come. I do so long to reach you. W. C." I judged that this, perhaps, was fraud, although I was told it came from a spirit.

The psychic, however, began to suffer, or assume singular contortions, and said they were the results of the efforts of a spirit to communicate through him. I very much doubted whether he was not acting a part, and watched him, as all the rest of the company did, very closely, in every one of his motions. He placed two slates on a table before him, and a hand, palm downward, on each slate.

He seemed to be making a strong effort of will, and said he could not tell whether the experiment would succeed. Biting a small fragment, not much larger than four or five times the size of the head of a pin, from the top of a slate pencil, he placed the bit on one of the slates, and called on us all to see that both surfaces were clean. This we did in the full light of five gas burners, to our perfect satisfaction. The psychic then shut the slates with the fragment between them, and required us to grasp the edges of the slates. He drew my hands into a position near his, and made several strokes over one of them. Meanwhile, his face showed strong efforts of will; his whole countenance energized; he seemed to be in an agony of volition; his features changed their expression to one of great vigour and determination; and yet, while this look was kept up he was shedding tears. It was in this mood of the psychic that the audible writing began and continued.

6. While a dozen hands, in full light, were tightly clasped about the slates, we all distinctly heard the peculiar grating sound of a slate pencil moving between them. I said, "Hist!" once or twice: and, in a nearly perfect silence, we every one of us heard writing going on between the surfaces. Afterward we saw the fragment of pencil which was used, and noticed that it was worn by the friction of writing.

7. The writing found on one of the slates when they were opened was in response to my question, and was as follows: "I think in 1812, but am not sure. Warner Cook."

This date was correct. The doubt expressed in the reply did not exist, in my own thoughts, for I knew what the date was. During the writing I was not thinking of the date, however, but very cautiously watching the psychic to detect fraud.

8. In a second experiment, the psychic closed the slates in our sight, after they had been washed with a wet sponge which I had myself procured from one of Mr. Sargent's chambers, and had also been heavily rubbed by my handkerchief in presence of us all, as they lay on the table. We were determined that no invisible writing should remain on the slates if any had been put there by sleight of hand, or previously to the gathering of the company. After they had been shut upon the pencil, the psychic, at my request, placed on them two strong brass clamps, one at each end. [Mr. Cook here exhibited to the audience the clamps, holding together the slates in question.] Thus arranged, the slates were placed by him in my right hand, which I extended at arm's length over the back of my chair into the open space of the room, while I left my other hand on

### *THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.*

the table. The psychic, twice or three times turned the clamped slates over in my hand, and then returned his hands to the table, where, with the rest of the hands of the company, they were kept constantly in sight. In this position I held the slates a few seconds, and watched both them and the psychic. He appeared to be making no particular effort of will. When the slates were opened, these words were found written on one of their surfaces in a feminine hand, "God bless you all. I am here. Your loving friend, Fanny Conant." I had never heard of this person, but the name was recognized by several in the company as that of a psychic now deceased, and lately well known in Boston.

9. One of the observers who assisted in the experiments at my request was my family physician, Dr. F. E. Bundy, of Boston, a graduate of the Harvard Medical School—a man of great coolness and penetration of judgment, and by no means inclined to adopt any spiritualistic theory. Another of the observers was Mr. Epes Sargent, who is known to the whole English speaking world for the volumes which contain the results of the many years he has devoted to the study of psychical phenomena. Of the nine observers, a majority were not only not Spiritualists, but thoroughly prejudiced against the claims made in behalf of the psychic who led the experiments. Written notes of the facts, as they occurred, were taken, without an instant's delay, by Dr. Bundy and myself.

10. Among the names correctly read in the closed pellets was that of an officer in the regular army, shot dead in one of the preliminary skirmishes of the battle of the Wilderness. The editor present knew the officer well, and the circumstances of his death. The instant the psychic pronounced the officer's name, he fell backward with a quick, sudden motion, like that of one shot through the heart. After a few seconds, he wrote the word "Shot," in large letters, on the slate.

11. The hands of the company were so placed on the slates in the first experiment that the theory of fraud by the use of a magnetic pencil is inapplicable to the facts. One of the observers held an open hand tightly against the bottom, and another on the top of the slates, which were perhaps six or ten inches above the surface of the table as it was clasped by the hands. Any magnet concealed in the sleeves of the psychic could not have been so used as to move the pencil.

12. At the close of the experiments, the company unanimously indorsed a paper drawn up on the spot, and were agreed that the theory of fraud would not explain the facts. While they differed in opinion as to whether the slate pencil was moved by the will of the psychic or by that of a spirit or spirits acting through him, the observers could not explain the writing except by the movement of matter without contact.

#### REPORT OF THE OBSERVERS OF THE SARGENT EXPERIMENTS IN PSYCHOGRAPHY IN BOSTON, MARCH 13th, 1880.

At the house of Epes Sargent, on the evening of Saturday, March 13th, the undersigned saw two clean slates placed face to face with a

### THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF

bit of slate pencil between them. We all held our hands clasped around the edges of the two slates. The hands of Mr. Watkins, the psychic, also clasped the slates. In this position we all distinctly heard the pencil moving, and on opening the slates, found an intelligent message in a strong masculine hand, in answer to a question asked by one of the company.

Afterwards, two slates were clamped together with strong brass fixtures, and held at arm's length by Mr. Cook, while the rest of the company and the psychic had their hands in full view on the table. After a moment of waiting, the slates were opened, and a message in a feminine hand was found on one of the inner surfaces. There were five lighted gas burners in the room at the time.

We cannot apply to these facts any theory of fraud, and we do not see how the writing can be explained, unless matter, in the slate pencil, was moved without contact.

F. E. BUNDY, M.D.  
EPES SARGENT.  
JOHN C. KINNEY.  
HENRY G. WHITE.  
JOSEPH COOK.

*Boston, March 13th, 1880.*

Notice now the unsatisfactory points in these experiments.

1. My attention was several times diverted from watching the psychic, by his requiring me to put my pencil on the pellets and pass it slowly from one to another of them.

It ought to be stated that he required Mr. Sargent to do the same, and if it had been his object to divert the attention of those most opposed to admitting his claims, he would have done better to have selected Dr. Bundy instead of Mr. Sargent, as another gun to spike. Dr. Bundy's attention was not diverted for an instant, nor was mine at any instant that seemed to me important.

2. Two or three times the psychic and a friend whom he had brought to the room, left the company and went into the hall together, and I did not know what they conferred about. It is supposed that they left in order that the friend might not be regarded as a confederate.

3. The psychic was easily offended by any test conditions suggested by the company, although he finally adopted the brass clamps which he at first refused to use.

I took to the library two lock slates which had only inner writing surfaces and placed on them the clamps, and, as soon as proceedings begun, said that I wished to place the bit of pencil myself between the slates without allowing the psychic to touch it. "But," said the psychic, "you have no objection to my biting a bit off the pencil you have in your hand. You have no objection to my putting the bit of pencil which I bite off into the cavity between the two slates?" "Yes," I replied, "I have great objections. You will do neither of those two things." The psychic, with a mood as haughty as if he had been under the control of some pirate spirit, announced at once that nothing could be done in Mr. Cook's presence. It was a quarter of an hour before we were able to quell the storm which had been

### *THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.*

raised by my insisting upon managing my own pencil. How did I know but possibly there might be inside his lips a magnetic pencil concealed under his tongue, and that he would substitute it for the bit of slate pencil bitten off by himself? The psychic's mood changed, when I told him that I intended to describe to the public the results of the evening, and that I had opportunity to advertise him very extensively to his advantage or disadvantage, as an honest statement of facts might require. After I had made myself hardly more than a spectator, the psychic was induced by his friend, Mr. White, and by Mr. Sargent, to go on with the experiments. His mood toward me changed, and I must affirm that he treated us all with courtesy from the moment when we ceased insisting upon certain tests in a tone of savage earnestness.

4. The psychic's friend brought to the room the slates which were used, and my slates were not employed at all in the experiments.

The alleged objection to the use of my slates, was that they had wood on their backs, and were poor conductors of electrical influences. Although clamps on the slates are no greater guard than one's hands may be, still they amount to something in stating the case to the public. If I had suddenly fallen into a trance, or been mesmerized, while holding the slates, the clamps would have held their place, and some one in the company might not have been in a trance, and would have known what happened.

On the whole, the unsatisfactory points did not appear to outweigh the satisfactory ones. In spite of the former, the observers agree in professing inability to explain the writing unless there was here motion without contact.

In these experiments, as I beg you to notice, there is nothing to decide whether the force which moved the pencil was exercised by the will of the psychic, or by a spirit, or by both.

We do not presume to say how the motion was caused, but only that we do not see how the writing can be explained unless matter in the slate pencil was moved without contact.

Of course the latter fact, if established, and even in the absence of knowledge as to whether the force proceeds from the psychic or from spirits, overturns utterly the mechanical theory of matter, explodes all materialistic hypotheses, and lays the basis for transcendental physics, or a new world in philosophy.

Here is the very freshest pamphlet from Germany on psychical phenomena. It is written by Leeser, a medical candidate at Leipzig University, and defends unflinchingly the theory that the psychic force explains all these phenomena, and is under the control of man exclusively. I came out of Mr. Sargent's library fully convinced that the stress of debate is between that theory and the theory adopted by Zöllner and Crookes, that the force is under the control of both men and spirits. Whatever the ultimate result of experiments by experts in the study of psychical phenomena may be, it is pretty nearly certain to-day that research should concentrate itself upon the double lines of investigation indicated by these two rival theories.

### THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF

We are parting, and pardon me now, if, as a final question, I ask, What are the general conclusions of the discussion of Spiritualism as an *if*?

1. The evils of Spiritualism arise not from the admission of the reality of spiritualistic communications, but from assuming their trustworthiness.

2. The most mischievous popular misconception as to Spiritualism, is that the alleged phenomena, if real, are supernatural, and so may authenticate a revelation, and place spiritualistic communications on the same basis with Christianity.

3. The most important duty of the pulpit in regard to Spiritualism is to insist on the philosophical and theological distinction between the merely superhuman and the strictly supernatural, and to show that a supernatural act can be performed by God only, that spiritualistic communications, even if real, are merely superhuman and not strictly supernatural, and so cannot come into rivalry with those Christian miracles which imply creative power, and can therefore be performed only by the Supreme Will.

4. More than a quarter of a century of study of the modern psychical manifestations has shown that in religion and theology Spiritualism has nothing new to say, however new many of its philosophical implications may be to materialism.

5. It has a divided voice, and teaches in different nations every form of doctrine held among men.

In India it is a mirror for the Hindoo opinions in theology. In Paris it is a mirror for the infidel's and the sensualist's creed. In certain circles of Christian Spiritualists it is said to be a mirror of the Christian hope. You have reflected back to you from the so-called spirits with whom you associate, your own views or the opinions of those spirits with whom you associate, your own views or the opinions of those spirits who may have been in your circles in the world, and who seem not to have greatly changed their convictions since they were here. Nothing like a revelation, except to mole-eyed materialism, has come from Spiritualism into modern history.

6. It has been especially effective in stimulating, in half-educated minds and coarse natures, infidelity in faith, and libertinism in morals.

Give me a coarse set of men and women, and I had rather they should be seized with the Asiatic cholera and the Memphis plague than by a belief in the trustworthiness of spiritualistic communications.

The great fact of experience is that average Spiritualism, when accepted as a source of religious knowledge, leads its votaries into practical mischief, and often into moral ruin.

7. While a very few psychics are persons of trustworthy character, seven out of ten of them are untrustworthy, if not immoral, and need guardians for their own good, and for that of society.

It is generally conceded by the better class of Spiritualists, that a large proportion of mediums are impostors, and that not infrequently psychics who have real power to produce strange phenomena have been detected in fraud.

## THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.

Let me not bring a railing accusation against those whose sensitiveness of organization subjects them, against their will, to peculiar experiences; but the general reputation of travelling mercenary psychics, everybody knows is not good. If I could uncover half of the facts which have come to me in unsolicited correspondence, including stacks and deluges of letters on this subject, I could make the cheeks in this house turn pale at revelations of vice stimulated by the belief in the trustworthiness of spiritualistic communications.

Not a rifle-shot from this platform, in the office of one of the foremost spiritualistic newspapers, communications are printed which seem to come up from purgatory at least, if not from a place far further sunk than that in the realms of spiritual life. "Let my sister communicate with me, and I will knock all belief in heaven and God out of her head." That is the style and tone of a good deal of spiritualistic communication East and West.

Of course, I know that there are circles in which Christian doctrines are favoured more or less by the so-called spirits; but if a man puts himself into their power, and admits not only the reality but the trustworthiness of their communications, the result, in nine cases out of ten, is that, little by little, he loses balance, not only of intellect but of character. Mr. Kiddle of New York has been, perhaps, persecuted too much; but even his literary sense has been blunted until poetical raving, unfit for the obscurest corner of a provincial journal, he considers worthy of the power of an Edgar A. Poe, or a Milton beyond death. I quite agree with *Scribner's Monthly* when, in view of merely literary considerations, it pronounces Mr. Kiddle to be so far warped by his spiritualistic creed as to be unfit for a guide for young minds in literature. Even the *Religio Philosophical Journal* of Chicago, a spiritualistic organ, says Mr. Kiddle has mistaken the automatic ravings of a medium in his own family for revelations, and that the consequence has been that he has run into the most glaring errors. I spent perhaps four or five hours rolling along the shores of Lake Erie in reading his book, and it seemed to me that if I had been obliged to devote a week to such literature I should have come out of it half idiotic. Coolest editors of the spiritualistic journals utterly reject the claim of such books to be regarded as a source of religious knowledge. There is, however, in wide circulation, on both sides of the Atlantic, a vast mass of similar literature, wilder than the wildest things in Swedenborg, and that is saying more than much.

Why has Planchette gone out of fashion? Because it was found to have a foul tongue. If you believe spirits were behind that despair of science, are you willing to invite into the bosom of your family such moods as must be supposed to exist in the desires of beings who can talk as Planchette talked, time and again, the most abominable ribaldry and worse?

8. It follows inexorably from the fact that the trustworthiness of

### *THE SCIENTIFIC TRIUMPH OF*

the communications cannot be proved, that even if their reality be admitted, all that is established is the existence and agency of evil spirits.

9. Such being the moral dangers of Spiritualism, its investigation may well be left in general to experts in psychical and mental science.

It is greatly to be desired that its investigation should be undertaken by a higher class of experimenters who are above suspicion of fraud, or mercenary motives, or scientific incompetency, or the prejudices of narrow specialists in merely physical research.

10. Materialism is overthrown, utterly, by the modern facts proving the existence of a psychic force.

11. So far as anti-supernaturalism is dependent on materialism, it is in itself overthrown by the same facts.

12. The Biblical view of the world as to both good and evil spirits is to be pushed to the front by the pulpit, if the wants of the times are to be met.

13. The existence in man of the spiritual faculties and susceptibilities assumed by Christianity is proved.

14. The background of Christianity, which rationalistic criticism has caused to be overlooked, is made vivid by modern psychical phenomena.

When I stood in the Sistine Chapel looking on the faded fresco of the Last Judgment, by Michael Angelo, I longed for the power to make vivid all the pristine colours; and just as that picture would glow like the sun, if it could appear in the freshness it had when the master's hand left it, so the Bible would glow as the light of the noon, if Biblical doctrines as to good and evil spirits were once preached thoroughly on combined Biblical and modern evidence.

Let us remember that there are now millions of people in the civilized nations who believe good and evil spirits are all about us. The Bible evidence on this point I accept. If, in an age in which the denial of the supernatural has assumed the name of science, you can bring the modern evidence to support the Biblical pneumatology, you add strength to a castle already impregnable.

If both evil and good spirits are around us in modern times, we can understand why men were directed of old to believe not every spirit, but to try the spirits, and to regard not those who have familiar spirits.

If there is modern experience of seeing and even of photographing spirits, we can understand how it was that the eyes of a young man were once opened so that he saw a mountain full of horses of fire, and chariots of fire, round about Elisha.

If evil spirits may now move the tongues of speaking psychics, we can understand how it was that the serpent said unto the woman, "Thou shalt not surely die!"

If the hand of the psychic Home, under the eyes of experts in England, was thrust into the centre of a grate of burning coals and not burned at all, we can understand how three men once came out of a furnace, nor was a hair of their heads injured, nor the smell of fire on their garments.

If hands appear among modern psychical phenomena, we can

### *THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.*

understand how it was that the fingers of a man's hand wrote on the walls of Belshazzar's palace, "Mene, mene, tekem, upharsin."

If Lord Lindsay saw a man lifted by invisible causes from the ground, and carried from window to window, and if levitation has occurred frequently in recent times, as we are told it has, we can understand how Philip was found not, for he was at Azotus; and how One of old walked on the sea.

If matter can pass through matter, we can understand how One Who was raised again, passed through the doors that were shut, and was present with His disciples when they were in an inner room.

If there have been faces which have shone in modern times so as to produce a shadow against the light, as we are told there have, we can understand what was meant when it was written, that when thy eye is single, thy whole body is full of light; and when it was written also, that Moses's face shone; and that angels have appeared with faces like lightning, and that One, Who was transfigured, was like the sun when he shineth in his strength.

If the followers of Edward Irving, and others in modern times, have spoken with foreign tongues, then we can understand how, at Pentecost, every man heard from the Apostles the tongue in which he was born.

If prayers are in modern times besought by spirits in a purgatorial state in the next life, as we are told they are, we can understand what was meant by preaching to spirits in prison.

If bad spirits are near us in modern times, we can understand how it is that we wrestle not with flesh and blood, but against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, and against wicked spirits in heavenly places.

If modern evidence proves that the soul of man may communicate with the souls of the departed, we can understand that we are compassed about by a great cloud of witnesses, and are come to the city of the living God, and to an innumerable company of angels, and to the general assembly and Church of the firstborn, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to God the Judge of all.

15. When the proper distinction is made between the merely superhuman and the strictly supernatural, the use of modern psychical phenomena to illustrate the laws of the communion of spirit with spirit does not destroy the evidential value of miracles, for the latter contain, as the former do not, evidences of creative power which can be exercised by only that One Being who is above nature.

16. The highest form of spiritual influence is what the Scriptures call communion with the Holy Spirit. This is open to all men on the condition of total, affectionate, and irreversible self-surrender to God.

Under a torrent of Niagara, so vast that only a portion of it can be studied close at hand at a single view, one is reminded of the torrent of natural causes flowing through the universe, and studied by man in a few only of its thunderous jets. Five years we have faced the deluge of the Niagara of natural causes. We have not seen the whole cataract, but in several different nooks of the frightened rock we have stood between it and the falling waters, with adventurous



*TRIUMPH OF THE BIBLICAL VIEW OF THE WORLD.*

awe. As in the Caves of the Winds at Niagara, in the narrow spaces between the astounding torrent and the rock behind it, one forgets himself, so in these other caves of the winds we have forgotten ourselves, and have been overawed by the deluge of natural forces rushing past us. In studying Biology, Transcendentalism, Orthodoxy, Conscience, Heredity, Marriage, Labour, Socialism, Culture and Miracles, I seem to have been standing behind the sheet of the Niagara of second causes in so many different caves of the winds, in which one can but forget himself in limitless awe. My hope is, however, that even when behind the cataract of souls and worlds, we have not worshipped it. I part from you with the prayer that God may deliver us from the chief curse of our age—the idolatry of second causes! All the torrents of the Niagara of God's works I would study, but I would remember that they are all poured from His palm. Lying, one summer day, behind the sheets of the cataract which hushes the breath of men's souls at Niagara, and thinking of the cataract of natural causes which pours through the galaxies of worlds and souls, and through eternity, and will always flow from God's right hand, and have no power which He does not give, it was my fortune to address both cataracts:—

When Rome fell, where wert thou, colossal fall?  
In slow recession thou hast wandered back;  
These leagues of seething chasm were thy track.  
When lost Atlantis sank, where didst thou call  
To thy vexed precipices? And what if all  
Thy dates were written, from the fiery sack  
Of Troy up to the deluge green and black?  
How eloquent were then thy storied wall!  
What wert thou in thy youth when man was not?  
When thou and he first met hast thou forgot?  
When first in thee was dipped the swallow's wing,  
When didst thou hear the first brown wood-thrush sing?  
Speak, dateless roar, for thou art old and wise;  
Thy memories are unsounded majesties.

I hear the thunderous thud, the muffled roar,  
I see the blinding, wheeling, smiting mists,  
The greens, the greys, purples and amethysts;  
From Heaven's wide palm thy frightened cataracts pour,  
And I look up beneath them and adore.  
Above me hang chain lightnings on the wrists  
Of summer tempests. In the awesome lists  
Of contests are the thunders and thy shore.  
Beneath thy quivering, riven cliffs, I lie  
And gaze into the lightning and the sky,  
But I hear only thee and touch and see  
A Hand which undergirds immensity.  
Thou speakest much, but most thou speakest of Him;  
God, God, God walks on thy watery rim.







